

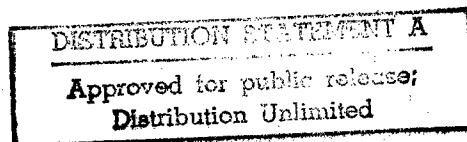
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9 APRIL 1987

# USSR Report

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS



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INTERNATIONAL SCIENTIFIC COORDINATING CONFERENCE IN USSR

Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 30 Oct 86 p 3

[GRUZINFORM report: "The Ideas of Socialism Are Invincible!"]

[Text] "The 27th CPSU Congress and the Pressing Problems of Intensifying the Criticism of Contemporary Anti-Marxist Concepts of the Economics of Socialism," is the theme of the International Scientific Coordination Conference which opened in Tbilisi on 29 October.

Sociologists and economists from CEMA member countries are taking part in the conference.

Participants of the Tbilisi meeting have to develop recommendations aimed at strengthening theoretical and practical measures for raising the qualitative level of criticism of bourgeois, reformist, and revisionist concepts of the economics of socialism. "Round table" meetings are being held within the framework of the conference on the theme: "Socio-Economic Problems of Acceleration and the Struggle of Ideas."

A special meeting was devoted to questions of international coordination of research and scientific publication in the area of criticism of anti-Marxist economic theories of socialism.

A. Tavkhelidze, president of the Georgian SSR Academy of Sciences and a corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, welcomed the meeting participants.

Academician Ye. Primakov, director of the Institute of World Economics and International Relations of the USSR Academy of Sciences, opened the conference.

Taking part in the work of the conference are G. Yenukidze, secretary of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee; V. Bulanov, an executive of the CPSU Central Committee, and G. Chogovadze, manager of the department of science and educational institutions of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee.

The conference will last until November 2.

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CZECHOSLOVAK MEETING ON S&T COOPERATION WITH CEMA

Moscow EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA in Russian No 1, Jan 87, p 20

[TASS report under the rubric "CEMA Journal": "On the Comprehensive Program for Scientific-Technical Progress"]

[Text] A national congress was held in Prague of representatives of CSSR scientific-technical organizations, departments, and enterprises that are taking part in the realization of the "Comprehensive Program for Scientific-Technical Progress of CEMA Member Countries to the Year 2000."

Addressing the conference, Yaromir Obzina, deputy chairman of the CSSR government and chairman of the State Commission on Scientific-Technical Development and Capital Investment, said that 370 Czechoslovak scientific-technical organizations and enterprises are currently participating in the resolution of 88 tasks of the KP NTP [Comprehensive Program for Scientific-Technical Progress].

CSSR participation in the realization of the comprehensive program, the speaker emphasized, is not only an important factor in the systematic long-term formation of the structure of the country's scientific-technical base. It is also conducive to a wider utilization of the capabilities of the CSSR in the international division of labor, and it increases industrial specialization and cooperation in the CEMA countries. The comprehensive program should serve as a basis for the industrial activity of socialist countries and as a continuous impetus to the advancement and modernization of socialist production, Ya. Obzina said.

Conference participants discussed and outlined ways of overcoming organizational and administrative barriers that are hindering the realization of the comprehensive program in the CSSR.

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## SOCIALIST COMMUNITY AND CEMA AFFAIRS

### NON-USE OF CEMA ECONOMIC EXPERIENCE QUERIED

Moscow TRUD in Russian 7 Feb 87 p 3

[Interview with V. G. Senchagov, chairman of the Council on Utilization of Foreign Experience attached to the USSR Gosplan and doctor of economic sciences, and Professor N. V. Bautina, a member of this council and head of the Department of Planning Activity Collaboration of the CEMA International Institute of Economic Problems of the World Socialist System, by correspondent Ye. Piskunov: "So That the Gold Does Not Tarnish in the Dust"; first two paragraphs are TRUD introduction]

[Text] Many TRUD readers are asking the editorial staff the same question: Why is "the experience of friends"--the methods of efficient economic operation of the socialist countries which are quite often discussed in your newspaper--being insufficiently utilized in our daily life?

We asked V. G. Senchagov, chairman of the Council on Utilization of Foreign Experience attached to the USSR Gosplan and doctor of economic sciences, and Professor N. V. Bautina, a member of this council and head of the Department of Planning Activity Collaboration of the CEMA International Institute of Economic Problems of the World Socialist System, to respond to this question.

SENHAGOV: A special Commission for the Improvement of Management, Planning, and the Economic Mechanism, which prepares proposals, methods, and drafts of decrees for the USSR Council of Ministers, has been functioning in the Soviet Union since 1982. Representatives of the Gosplan and a number of union ministries, including the Ministry of Foreign Trade and the Ministry of Finance, the State Committee for Labor and Social Problems, and the State Committee for Foreign Economic Relations, are members of it. The commission has a scientific section, of which our council is the working organ, for preparing recommendations on the utilization of foreign management experience.

CORRESPONDENT: In other words, basically questions of economic strategy are the subject of your research?

SENHAGOV: Basically, yes. We are interested in the experience of CEMA member countries which may be utilized in the long-range program to improve the national economic mechanism of the Soviet Union.

Exactly the same process is also taking place in socialist countries at the same time. They are looking everywhere for ways of accelerating. And the mutual exchange of useful experience is very important for this reason. Unfortunately, the CEMA organization, which should study the experience of each specific country and provide the necessary recommendations to the others, has not become a coordinating center yet. Why, CEMA is waiting for its own reorganization, too.

I will mention several directions in our recent work where our friends' experience has already been studied and utilized.

For example, in preparing recommendations in accordance with conditions for enterprises' shift to self-financing and self-supporting production [samookupayemost]. Computations by our comrades from the GDR on their operating system of industrial combines have helped a great deal.

Or with regard to the Law on Individual Labor Activity which is coming into effect. We have been carefully studying similar situations in CEMA. Incidentally, your newspaper has also discussed examples of "work after work," I believe. So we have come to the conclusion that individual activity in the area of services and consumer goods production will help the economy to adapt more rapidly to changes in demand and to depend less on raw material and labor resources. In a word, to be more flexible. There should be no excessive incomes, of course. But the financial system should also establish favorable conditions for workers in their free time after their principal work. And the income tax should be such that a person is able to earn. Based on a study of fraternal countries' experience in this area, we have also drafted recommendations to increase the role of local soviets.

Study of the experience of the GDR, Hungary and Bulgaria in the operation of small enterprises has become another interesting trend.

BAUTINA: The role of local soviets will be extraordinarily important here as well, incidentally. Establishment of a network of small enterprises will help our economic mechanism to become more mobile and to react more rapidly to changes in market conditions and consumer demand. This concerns the production of Group "B" goods, of course.

SENCAGOV: It has been demonstrated in Bulgaria's example that small enterprises can have the same level of equipment as the large ones.

BAUTINA: The experience of our CEMA friends in managing scientific and technical progress or improving foreign economic relations also is interesting.

CORRESPONDENT: But isn't the study and analysis process itself too drawn out? Long years may pass by before experience that is so useful can be introduced. It happens this way, you know, and frequently.

SENCAGOV: We are not approaching foreign experience mechanically. We are not simply taking it as it is there and introducing it. We are conducting a considerable amount of analytical work first, studying the extent to which it

meets conditions in the USSR. Then our recommendations are studied by a working group of the representatives of a number of ministries and departments which has been especially set up. For this reason, the "strategic" directions must be separated from the "tactical" ones, so to speak, "for the topic of the day," as they say. For the former, the analysis should be very thorough and painstaking and not depend on periods of time. For the latter...

BAUTINA: How do you think the Estonian experiment in the area of light industry began? You know it was this way: the production and sale of consumer goods were coordinated in one complex. The system is organized on full self-financing and strict relationships with the state budget.

And today the Estonians not only fully meet the republic's demands, but they are going out into the national market and have opportunities for export. And all this began by their representatives coming to us and asking about all the innovations and achievements which exist in this area in the socialist countries.

We organized a "roundtable" in Tallinn. We invited the leading "light industry" specialists from all the CEMA countries. And each one was able to obtain the information needed in firsthand contact. The benefit of such meetings is obvious. The general director of an enterprise can ask a colleague from another country directly at them: how do you do this, and explain this. And in a couple of weeks you are introducing an interesting innovation.

Incidentally, in examining foreign experience, we often encounter our own achievements. Only already in development. Many socialist countries took the experience of the USSR in the 1920's, the NEP [New Economic Policy], and the 1965 reforms as the basis for their economic solutions. But they went further. Here is the system of industrial combines in the GDR, in particular. The idea was ours, but we left it behind. Or with regard to your question about the peak hour...

CORRESPONDENT: Only it wasn't mine, but the readers' question. They are interested in why the beginning of the workday in our large cities can't be separated for enterprises and institutions, in the Budapest example. One would start at 0800, others at 0805, and others at 0815... While this would not completely do away with the peak hour problem, it would significantly relieve public transportation.

BAUTINA: But why the example of Budapest? This is also a Soviet experience, you know. A system such as this was in effect in Moscow in the late 1950's and early 1960's. As you see, what is old is well forgotten. The whole question is just to remember it.

CORRESPONDENT: Nevertheless, let's return to our discussion. Why is it that the gold is tarnishing in the dust, forgotten somewhere in the attic? That the many interesting examples of foreign experience--which the press is writing about, by the way--are being disregarded for some reason and left behind? Who should answer for this? Who is responsible?

SENCHAGOV: What are you referring to specifically? What are the examples?

CORRESPONDENT: They are all practically linked with more sensible, businesslike, thrifty economic operation. That is, they also have a direct relationship to your council's studies in the area of improving management. The broadest range of experience. From reprocessing film to obtain valuable metals from the by-product to organizing the highway system.

SENCHAGOV: Well, in the first place, we maintain contact with economic advisers in all the embassies of the USSR abroad. The council sends them the plans for studying experience every year. In addition, there are special subunits in all ministries for improving the methods of the economic mechanism which are simply obliged to make use of any foreign experience which is interesting and appropriate for their sector.

BAUTINA: Incidentally, large groups of specialists from each ministry are sent abroad every year to study experience. What do they bring back? Specifically? It would be worthwhile for your newspaper to show interest...

CORRESPONDENT: We will certainly do this.

BAUTINA: It is sufficient to cite the example of how the Japanese study foreign experience. They send a specialist to another country. Two months after he returns he is obligated to present his observations--in the form of sketches, plans, and methods--and how to practically utilize what he has brought back. And in 6 months this experience should already be introduced. Do we have anything like this?

We simply need enthusiasm as well. Plus correct organization for the study and application of the experience from other countries. We need the highest professionalism in economic work.

SENCHAGOV: The CEMA secretariat, where there are special economic staff members delegated by ministries and departments, is also engaged in the "collection" of experience. But they often sit there for 10 years or more. Paradoxically, many simply have lost contact with the organizations that delegated them. And the organizations have no interest in and responsibility for utilizing the experience. So the "blood supply" function of these experts is lost.

CORRESPONDENT: One more question. Interesting experience which concerns not only entire problems but which is related simply to certain applications and is easily handled at the individual level may be of interest to our economy. Recently, for example, TRUD published an article on the packaging of produce and household goods in small containers. It is also an interesting and useful experience which costs nothing for a large store or base to adopt.

SENCHAGOV: A great deal depends on local initiative, of course. It is enough for a real proprietor to see a hint in the newspaper, and you see things done in a new way. Take the example of packaging that you mentioned. After all, the new policy in economic operation enables a store manager to hire the needed number of temporary workers to perform efficient packaging.

In a word, the approach to our friends' experience should be motivated, then everything will be in order. We must not wait for instructions, but demonstrate initiative and socialist enterprise. After all, the introduction of efficient techniques and methods seen abroad is in the interest of each and every person.

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## SOCIALIST COMMUNITY AND CEMA AFFAIRS

### WORK, PROBLEMS OF 'INTERROBOT' DISCUSSED

Moscow NEW TIMES in English No 10, 16 Mar 87 pp 24-26

[Text]

Robots have aroused more controversy than any other development in technology. Their failure to bring about the breakthrough expected of them in production has cooled many robotics enthusiasts off. Some have even come to deny the usefulness of robots altogether. Nevertheless, the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance decided, at its 41st session in late 1985, to establish the Interrobot international research and production amalgamation. IGOR ORDINARTSEV, first deputy Minister of the Machine and Tool-Making Industry of the U.S.S.R., and VITALI TSARENKO, chairman of the board of Interrobot, discuss the problems facing the amalgamation in the following interview to journalist Yuri Samoilov, Cand. Sc. (Tech.).

The French weekly *Le Nouvel Observateur* points out that in 1985 demand for industrial robots on the world market was 50 per cent up on the 1984 figure, while in 1986 it was only 5 per cent more than in 1985. Many computer manufacturers have sustained losses. How would you explain this decline?

**I. Ordinartsev:** Today the world is taking a more sober view of the potential of industrial robots and, more importantly, of the principles underlying their utilization.

A robot is not a TV set where you merely push a button to switch it on. A robot must be adjusted to — or "mated with," to use a technical term — a certain type of a machine tool. And this is no easy matter. This is why the emphasis is now on introducing the

so-called robotic complexes, or flexible production modules, each comprising a machine tool and a robot. Incidentally, these modules can be put together to make up flexible production systems.

**V. Tsarenko:** There are several reasons for this plummeting in demand. Firstly, most prospective users are inadequately informed about the capabilities of industrial robots; secondly, robots are rather expensive and take some time to pay for themselves; and thirdly, putting a robot to industrial use usually involves several readjustments on the factory floor. Last but not least, many flexible production systems (comprising a machine tool, a conveyance facility and a control system) can do perfectly well with simpler and cheaper means of positioning components on a machine tool.

Don't you think that such a reduction in demand for robots will tell on the activity of Interrobot?

**V. Tsarenko:** No, it won't. This reduction is temporary. There'll be an ever greater need for robots and robotic complexes all over the world.

**I. Ordinartsev:** We get many orders for robotic systems and individual robots from various industries in the U.S.S.R. The same is true of other CMEA countries. The point is that robots can take over monotonous, tiring, hazardous and night-time jobs. Therefore, Interrobot is a very useful organization, and every effort must be made to promote its work.

What was the Soviet Union's objective in helping establish Interrobot?

**I. Ordinartsev:** Robotics engenders

a whole complex of scientific and technical problems which even a large country like the U.S.S.R. can hardly cope with on its own. The solution of these problems lies in the international division of labour and standardization.

Does this mean that the U.S.S.R. is lagging behind other industrialized countries in developing robots that measure up to the highest world standards?

I. Ordinartsev: To a certain extent it does. The range of robots we produce falls short of that available on the world market, and the quality of our robots leaves much to be desired as compared with the best foreign makes.

Moreover, the very pattern of our robot output, and the relative quantities of the types we produce are wrong. Specifically, we make too few of the so-called industrial robots, i.e., those intended for painting, welding and assembly jobs, and too many service robots, which can be used only as complements to industrial equipment.

The problem now is not only to extend the range of the robots we make, but also to standardize them, i.e., to make them cheaper. This will make them applicable to a wider variety of uses.

How are you going to achieve this?

I. Ordinartsev: By making new robots of standardized and modular designs. The robots' "hands," "joints," drives, transmissions and controls are to be standardized so that they can perform different operations. Instead of highly specialized robots, we shall concentrate on making individual structural elements, or "building blocks," which can be assembled into multipurpose robots. If we succeed in rectifying CMEA standards and bringing them into conformity with international ones, we shall achieve better international standardization.

V. Tsarenko: Our prime task is to improve the quality and enhance the reliability of the robots and of all their components. An international centre is being set up within the framework of Interrobot for the purpose, whose chief function will be to test robots. If a model fails to conform to a specific technical standard, it will be

returned to the manufacturer. This practice spares numerous robot users the need to do their own testing.

These are splendid plans, but are you sure they'll be carried out? This isn't the first time that the desire to make better robots is proclaimed.

V. Tsarenko: The January 1987 plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee pointed out that our research and development efforts failed to meet the requirements of the national economy. Some R&D bodies were concentrating on modifying the models already in use rather than creating entirely new ones. Is it any wonder therefore that even our so-called "new" equipment often failed to compete on the world market? In developing machines—robots in particular—today, we seek to match the international standards. Can we do so? The record of our brilliant achievement in aircraft and rocket construction and in other fields makes us certain that we can do no worse in robotics very soon.

At all the robot-equipped factories I have visited, operatives complain of the slowness, inadequate precision, low interference resistance and unreliability of their steel helpers. Moreover, robots are fairly expensive. The question arises: wouldn't it be better to stop making such robots and concentrate on developing better models?

I. Ordinartsev: I don't altogether agree. How can we make further progress without producing and using robotic complexes on a sufficiently wide scale? After all, you can't learn to drive a car without actually doing so, albeit inexpertly at first. It may be that the complexes are far from perfect in the early stages. What matters is to gain experience in handling these complex machines, which call for considerable readjustments in manufacturing patterns. The robot is to become as common a means of industrial production as the machine tool is today. It is also bound to find its way into classrooms at all higher and secondary technical schools.

Technological progress and the improvement of equipment operation techniques are two mutually complementary and interdependent processes.

Separate "service" robots not teamed up with machine tools, presses or other items of industrial equipment are another matter. Their output must indeed be reduced radically because they are not of much use except as fashionable attributes of progress; more often than not they are brought onto the factory floor by an error in planning.

This brings to mind the fate of the plastic heart which has been given up as a bad job after a number of implantation failures. Efforts are now being made to design a more reliable artificial

heart. In the meantime, heart cases are being kept alive by substituting artificial valves for their worn-out ones and by heart transplants. Couldn't the same tactic be adopted in automating industrial production by using cheaper and more reliable substitutes for the expensive, complex and clumsy jumbo robots one sometimes sees on the factory floor today? I wonder how many kindergartens and homes could have been built instead of the tens of thousands of primitive robots we have produced over the past 10-15 years, and how much more it will still cost us to overcome this mental inertia! As you certainly know, robots often bring factories nothing but losses.

I. Ordinatsev: To draw another parallel with a TV set—why buy a model on sale today if a more reliable and compact one is coming tomorrow?

This, however, is not the approach to be taken to technological progress. One can wait forever for an ideal product. Robotics is a major trend in economic advance, and we must promote it in every way for our own good. You don't install new-generation equipment simply to follow the fashion, you do it for economic reasons. The surest way to discredit any technical innovation or any new form of work organization is to misuse it. Factory managers should find the space for and decide on the most rewarding use of robots before, and not after, buying this very expensive equipment. If a robot works only intermittently rather than a six-day week on a two- or three-shift basis, it will never pay its way.

Although man is incomparably more intelligent and adaptable than a robot, it wouldn't occur to anyone to entrust the operation of a sophisticated machine tool to worker picked at ran-

dom. The job requires special skill acquired through long training. Therefore, the solution to the problem of introducing robots on a large scale lies in ensuring their reliability and making proper use of them as components of complexes designed expressly to discharge definite functions.

Speaking of difficulties, does Interrobot confront any?

I. Ordinatsev: It certainly does. There are the problems associated with attaining maximum efficiency, selecting the optimum development strategy, standardization and long-term planning. Robots cannot decide on their own what roles they are to play in production process. These decisions are made by man.

Besides the U.S.S.R., Poland, Bulgaria, Hungary, Cuba and Czechoslovakia belong to Interrobot. Why haven't the G.D.R. and Romania joined it?

V. Tsarenko: Ours is a voluntary organization, of course, and open to all countries. I am sure the two states you have named will also soon join it.

Some may think Interrobot a closed organization.

I. Ordinatsev: Nothing could be further from the truth. We are not going to solve our problems within the confines of this organization. Although it is supposed to cater to the needs of the CMEA member states, some of its products—robot complexes, for the most part—will be supplied to the world market.

What, in your opinion, are Interrobot's advantages over bilateral organizations, like the Soviet-Czechoslovak Robot Association?

V. Tsarenko: It should be borne in mind that Interrobot's programme provides for specific projects to be carried out under contracts. This imposes much greater responsibility on the participating states. As for the Robot Association, it is a member of Interrobot, and its plans dovetail with ours.

Will other such associations be formed within the framework of Interrobot?

V. Tsarenko: So far no plans are afoot for the establishment of such associations concerned with robotic com-

plexes. Nevertheless, temporary working bodies will be formed in the context of bilateral cooperation between factories. The Soviet research and production amalgamation Varnish-and-Paint Coating, for instance, is to cooperate with the Materials Protection Institute (Czechoslovakia) in developing automated coating application equipment. The Mukachevo machine tool plant and the Soviet-Czechoslovak Robot Association are to join hands in designing robot machine tool operators. This is a most promising form of cooperation, and I am sure new ones will emerge spontaneously in the future.

Socialist countries have lately been embarking on joint ventures with the capitalist world's leading manufacturers of robots and other automatic systems. The cases in point are the Bulgarian-Japanese Fanuc-Machinex firm for servicing Japanese numerically controlled devices and robots in European CMEA member states, Yugoslavia, Greece and Turkey, and the Bulgarian-American firm Sistemafics for the servicing and development of the automatic and control systems in the chemical industry. Similar firms will evidently be organized soon in cooperation with enterprises in CMEA states. Don't you think enterprises of socialist countries may

eventually find it more profitable to do business with Western companies than to cooperate with each other in Interrobot?

I. Ordinartsev: Any Western firm is interested only in selling what it has to offer, be it equipment, licences or know-how, whereas Interrobot opens up the most rational way towards an integrated and unified system for the development and manufacture of robots.

Does Interrobot have a clear-cut or only a general idea of what it is going to do?

V. Tsarenko: The Interrobot member states have agreed on a detailed programme of action for the period of up to 1990. They are to develop and build a number of new and modified models of industrial robots for machining, casting, welding, assembly and other jobs, and all the accessories to them. Provisions have been made for working out standards and unified robot repair and maintenance systems. Each country's specializations have been agreed

on. For instance, the U.S.S.R. is to specialize in metalworking and casting robots and complete control systems; Poland, in welding robots, electric drives and control systems.

As has already been mentioned, self-contained robots are no longer much in demand. Nevertheless, your answers suggest that Interrobot is going to continue making them.

V. Tsarenko: Interrobot is not going to become "set in its ways." It will respond promptly to shifts in market demand. Its initial plans are already being corrected, with a view to broadening their scope. Interrobot may undertake to do complex jobs for the participating states such as developing robotic complexes and flexible production systems. The manufacture of self-contained robots was only a beginning.

I. Ordinartsev: What's more, as we keep abreast of technological progress, we shall be able to give more attention to robots designed for agriculture, public catering, underwater research and other fields of activity. Here in the U.S.S.R. the Robot interbranch research and technological complex—Interrobot's head organization—is going to enlist the cooperation of Leningrad's Robotics and Technical Cybernetics Institute for the purpose. I hope our new products will be of interest to our partners.

[Photo Caption] The job of the joint Soviet-Bulgarian Prolefar-Beroea research and production amalgamation is to design and assemble new generations of industrial robots and manipulators, flexible production modules, and numerical programmed control machine tools.

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### THIRD WORLD ISSUES

#### 'NEOCOLONIALISM' HINDERS DEVELOPMENT OF ASIAN, AFRICAN STATES

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 12, Dec 86 pp 2-5

[Article by Doctor of Historical Sciences R. Landa under the rubric "The 27th CPSU Congress and the Liberated Countries": "Social Shifts and Neocolonialism"]

[Excerpts] The Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Party Congress noted: "The social shifts of the century are altering the conditions for further social development. New economic, political, scientific, technical, domestic and international factors are taking effect. Mutual contacts of states and peoples are growing. All of this makes especially stringent requirements of every state--whether the issue is foreign policy, economic and social activity or the spiritual aspects of society." (Footnote 1) (Materials of the 27th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Moscow, 1986, p 7.) The socio-political antipodes--the forces of national liberation and social progress on the one hand, and the forces of imperialism and neocolonialism on the other--try to make different uses of this objectively existing and most important trend of development in the modern world.

\* \* \*

The vital interest of neocolonialism in preserving the functional system of super-exploitation is determined by its aspiration to conserve the economic and social backwardness of the former colonies. Whereas earlier, in the beginning of the post-colonial period, the bourgeoisie of the former mother country could place a bet without care on the accelerated capitalist "modernization" of the liberated countries, in other words, on their development along the capitalist path, over the last 10-15 years the world situation has changed sharply. The use of an "oil embargo" by a number of Afro-Asian countries against the imperialist states, the downfall of the last (Portuguese) colonial empire, the victory of revolution in Ethiopia, Nicaragua and Afghanistan, the successes of the non-aligned movement and the aspiration of a considerable portion of the developing countries to establish a new international economic order have convincingly demonstrated the weakening of

the political positions of imperialism. The expediency of the whole system of neocolonial rule established by it in the postcolonial era, constructed first and foremost on the use of economic, financial and technical means of pressure on the liberated countries, has been called into question.

This has been felt most keenly by the United States, which suffered a decisive defeat in Vietnam, and was then unable to avert the fall of pro-American regimes in Nicaragua and Iran. It is namely for that reason that the position of the developed capitalist countries in relation to the liberated states has become more severe, expressed both in the military, political and ideological pressure and in an intensification of economic robbery.

Imperialist ambitions and a thirst for social revenge have found ultimate incarnation in the "neoglobal" doctrine of the United States and its open application of military force against developing countries. It is enough to recall the American aggression against Grenada in 1983, its participation in the activities of counterrevolutionary forces in Nicaragua, Afghanistan and Angola and the attack of the United State Air Force on Libya in 1986. Other events of the recent decade should also be remembered: the French military expeditions to Zaire and Chad, the war of England against Argentina over the Falkland (Malvinas) Islands and, finally, the joint intervention of the United States, England, France and Italy in Lebanon in 1982-1983 with the aim of reaping the fruits of the Israeli aggression against Lebanon in 1982, and at the same time tipping the scales in the civil strife of many years in the favor of pro-Western forces.

By the way, the military actions of neocolonialism, aside from their overt purpose--the intimidation and subjection of young states--have other aims as well: the creation of an unstable and agitated situation of mutual mistrust and suspicion among the developing countries, many of which either inherited various conflicts with their neighbors from the past, are included in closed political and economic groups that are hostile to one another or are linked by circumstances of a military nature with imperialist powers. All of this eases the provocation of clashes among the liberated states and entails a growth in the military expenditures of the Afro-Asian countries. Their expenditures for the import of arms and other military preparations totaled 117 billion dollars in 1984 versus 27 billion in 1970. The dragged-out wars also require enormous resources (the Near-East conflict, for example, has lasted for 38 years already, and the Iran-Iraq war six years), as do the considerable expansion of military production in a number of countries (by way of example, in Israel, Pakistan and Turkey) and the transition of the neocolonialists, and first and foremost the United States, from the supply of arms as unpaid assistance to their sale on a commercial basis. Militarization is an additional drag on economic and social progress for the countries of Asia and Africa and an additional lever for influencing them on the part of neocolonialism.

The neocolonialists have not formally refused the "modernization" of the liberated countries in the bourgeois spirit. In fact, however, they always see in the national bourgeoisie of the countries of the Orient an undesirable competitor rather than a reliable ally. Under current conditions, when the market competitiveness of the local bourgeoisie is becoming to an extent a

hindrance to the super-exploitation of the West of the peoples of Asia and Africa, yesterday's "ally" can become a dangerous adversary. "Modernization," therefore, even of a fully neocolonialist type, if it is implemented, is done very cautiously, with care, within a strictly defined framework and with support from the traditional allies of imperialism in these countries--the feudal elements, the reactionary bureaucracy, the pro-Western faction of the intelligentsia and the parasitic (compromised, bureaucratic and the like) bourgeoisie. At the same time, all that is outmoded, old, stagnant and conservative in the life of the Eastern peoples is used by the neocolonialists for support.

The author has already had occasion to direct attention to the interwoven and mutually conditional nature of the struggle against neocolonialism and the traditional pre-capitalist structures at the same time. (Footnote 3) (See R. Landa. Magib. The Transformation of Traditional Structures.--AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA, 1983, No 12, pp 15-19.) The Marxist theoreticians of the Asian and African countries also indicate this. The eminent Moroccan sociologist and economist Abd al-Aziz Belyal in particular wrote as early as 1980 that foreign capitalism had not only "penetrated into the social formations subordinate to it" in the Afro-Asian world, but had also "subordinated to itself all earlier forms of production, distorting them and making them function in its interests." In the same manner there arose, in his words, "a combination of deformed social institutions of the past and the reigning institutions of the present," forming a distinctive but unified "social ensemble."

Life has shown that even pro-Western bourgeois-liberal regimes, in carrying out transformations in the spirit of fully capitalist "modernization," run up against enormous difficulties. This is explained by the fact that it is impossible to eliminate only pre-capitalist structures without affecting the positions of foreign capital, or to get rid of only foreign capital without affecting pre-capitalist traditional structures. In other words, it is necessary to change and to a certain extent to break the "social ensemble" that was thrown together and exists in the interest of the neocolonialists. The close interconnections within this "ensemble" between the foreign entrepreneurs, seemingly interested in "modernization," and the pre-capitalist exploiters of traditional society that still existed in the colonial era, is today undergoing a sort of "renaissance" in view of the greatly increased vested interest of the participants in this alliance in each other. For those who represent yesterday in the Asian and African countries, participation in this alliance is their last chance to survive. And for the neocolonialists, union with them is one of the last desperate attempts to slow the movement of the peoples along the path of liberation and social progress and, under favorable circumstances, even erect a barrier on this path.

On this plane, the evolution of the tactics of the multinational corporations in recent decades is noteworthy. Being the chief proponents of neocolonial expansion, they are today resurrecting a traditional method of the colonizers--based on the most narrow self-interested and anti-patriotic segment--in the exploitation of the dependent countries, which by virtue of the qualities enumerated above is isolated from the people and is ready for a union with foreign oppressors. The multinational corporations, beginning in the 1970s, have widely employed the principle of combined enterprise, as a

rule attracting the feudalists, corrupted bureaucracy and the large bourgeoisie in the Orient into shared participation in their branches. Thus, in India American, British and Japanese multinationals collaborate closely (including the formation of joint ventures, the granting of technologies and loans, the training of personnel and the like) with the leading national monopolistic groups of Birla, Tata, Kkhatu and Kirloskar. The large bourgeoisie of Thailand, Singapore, Hong Kong, South Korea and Taiwan are just as willing to enter into multilateral collaboration with the multinationals.

In places where the local bourgeoisie is weak, collaboration with it is arranged with the participation of the state. An example is the Somaca company in Morocco, in which 20 percent of the stock belongs to the giant western European firms of Simca and Fiat, 14 percent to Moroccan entrepreneurs and 46 percent to the state. The company is in fact wholly dependent on the multinationals, since all of its engineering and technical staff were trained in France, West Germany and Italy, and it is connected through the receipt of technology and a number of basic production elements with the French Renault corporation, the West German firm of Opel and the American firm of Chrysler.

In other countries, for example in the "oil" monarchies of the Persian Gulf, the major bourgeoisie belongs at the same time either wholly or to a certain extent to the feudal aristocracy and, as a rule, forms the upper levels of the bureaucracy from its representatives as well. For the multinationals this triune elite, monopolizing economic, political and religious power, is more acceptable than a national bourgeoisie in "pure" form, although even the feudal-bureaucratic elite retains its (usually secondary) contradictions with the multinationals.

\* \* \*

The modern conditions of class and political struggle in the Orient are typified by a strengthening of the inequality of the economic and social development of various countries or groups of countries. This leads to growth in contradictions not only between the liberated countries and imperialism, but also among these countries themselves. Neocolonialism, acting according to the old principle of "divide and conquer," is trying to make use of the new contradictions among the liberated states and to encourage the economic, ideological and other conflicts that arise among them as well as trade competition and personal competition among the national leaders of these states, supported by the ambitions of political pride, national and personal prestige and historical legends and pretensions. The inflaming of national-ethnic and regional differences, especially successfully used to undermine the socio-political stability of young states, also plays a large role here.

At the same time, the neocolonialists take into account that the social shifts of the first half of the 1980s in the Orient took place under conditions of an increase in international tension and a rise in the role of the state and the army. Assisting the bureaucratization and militarization of the state apparatus of the liberated countries, the neocolonialists are placing a bet on their traditional allies from among the "old" reactionaries, as well as on the relatively young leaders from the higher technocracy, the elite of officialdom, and the generals and officers. This neo-bureaucratic segment is

so solidly attached to collaboration with the imperialist states, suppressing local enterprise in their favor, that many Western researchers are even inclined to write about some sort of "disappearance" of the national bourgeoisie and its replacement with a "management class" or, as the sociologist from the United States, R. Sklep, prefers to express it, the "administrative bourgeoisie." It is important to emphasize in this case that neocolonialism, without, naturally, undermining capitalism in Asia and Africa as such, nonetheless prefers to deal not with the national bourgeoisie as a potential competitor, but with the neo-bureaucratic elite that it cultivated and that listens to it.

In this regard, technical assistance in the matter of training personnel, and first of all administrators, continues to be a powerful tool for neocolonialism to influence socio-economic processes in the liberated states. In 1977, for example, there were more than 40 presidents or prime ministers in the "Third World" who had been educated in the United States and who held pro-American positions. Many ministers, deputies in parliament, professors influential in the student world and enterprise managers in the state sector had American diplomas in the 1970s. The International Development Administration and the United States Information Agency are directly occupied with the selection of personnel in the liberated countries, the arrangement of close contacts with the ruling segments and the bureaucracy and the organization of business trips and "skill enhancement" of senior and middle managers in the spheres of economics, administration and the security organs. Upon returning to the mother country, the travelers again occupy leading positions, continuing to work at the highest levels of the state apparatus and the state sector, often under the monitoring of "experts" and "consultants" from the United States.

France, which spent, by way of example, 732.8 million dollars for technical assistance to Asian and African countries in 1974 and made 15,609 grants, and England, which expended 179 million dollars and allocated 14,717 grants in this same period, are trying not to lag behind the United States in the matter of training the management elite. Some 270,000 citizens of the developing countries were training at that time in the United States, France, England and West Germany, and moreover representatives of the propertied classes--people from the families of businessmen, officials and prosperous workers, and the intelligentsia--predominated among them. Placing their hopes on a kind of "technocratic revolution" in the East, the neocolonialists continue a policy of cultivating the bureaucracy, the technocracy and the people in the free professions, who could renew and reinforce the "support of the West" in the East and advertise the achievements of Western equipment and technology.

The participation of other developed capitalist countries, and first of all Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands and Japan, in this process should not be underestimated. The higher scientific personnel for the economies of the countries of Africa in particular are trained at a special scientific center in Milan.

While betting on new forms of subordination for the liberated countries and on the new personnel, the neocolonialists are also not forgetting their old allies or their old methods of expansion. In the relations of France with the

countries of the Magrib, for instance, the favored means of pressure has always been a reduction in the procurement of wine, a reduction in the quotas for immigrant Magribs to enter France and the restraint of granting or even the complete cessation of financial assistance, the withdrawal of French skilled personnel to the motherland and the like.

Notwithstanding all of the newest contrivances of neocolonialism, however, and the strengthening of its aggressive nature and more varied methods, it is not only not able to expand its positions in the Afro-Asian world, but even to preserve what it had. The very fact of the participatory use of military force against the liberated states, including the undeclared wars that have been waged for many years against Angola, Afghanistan, Kampuchea, Mozambique, Nicaragua and Ethiopia, testify obliquely to this. Imperialism cannot exact revenge in the political sphere, the sphere of economics or the sphere of ideology, to turn back the movement of the peoples of Asia and Africa along the path of national liberation and social progress.

In the current complex conditions of the international situation, the tactics of the neocolonialists are becoming more complex and are being improved. The forces opposing neocolonialism, however, can successfully wage the struggle against it through the mobilization of all of their capabilities and resources, the achievement of a unity of action, the development of joint counterattacks and the use of inter-imperialist contradictions. The possibility of relying on the unselfish assistance of the USSR and the other countries of socialism in this is a most important condition for successful opposition to neocolonialism.

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## THIRD WORLD ISSUES

### PROBLEMS OF THIRD WORLD 'POPULATION EXPLOSION' EXAMINED

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 12, Dec 86 pp 6-9

[Article by S. Bestuzheva: "World Population: Problems and Prospects"]

[Excerpts] In recent decades, population growth in all its aspects has attracted the persistent attention of demographic scholars, economists and sociologists. In the 1950s through the 1970s, the number of inhabitants on the globe has increased at a considerable rate. Some 120 years were required for the doubling of the first billion of mankind--from 1810 to 1930. The further increase in the amount of the Earth's population has proceeded in this manner: three billion people in 1960, four billion in 1975 and five billion in 1985. According to recent forecasts, by the year 2000 there will be more than six billion people.

The complexity of the problem is not only the rapid increase in the number of people. In the majority of the countries of Europe and North America, on the contrary, population growth has declined, and in some of them is even equal to zero. In a number of Western European countries (West Germany, Austria, Great Britain et al), a depopulation is even being observed, that is, the death rate exceeds the birth rate. Meanwhile, the population of the developing countries continues to grow rapidly. In 1950, 800 million of the 2.5 billion people living on the Earth were in Europe, North America, the USSR, Japan, Australia and New Zealand, while 1.7 billion were in the remaining countries. The ratio between the two groups consequently totaled roughly 1:2. By 1985 it had reached 1:3. Even if the Earth's population, as assumed by UN demographers, stabilizes in the middle of the 22nd century at a level of at least 13.5 billion people, the schism will increase to 1:6.

The 1st Worldwide Conference on Population Problems was held in Bucharest in 1974 under the slogan "The Population Explosion--Catastrophe or General Law?", and the same question--directly or indirectly--defined the agenda of the 2nd Worldwide Conference, held in Mexico in August of 1984. But while in Bucharest principal attention was devoted to efforts to investigate the extant demographic situation and only the most general outlines of essential actions for regulating it were discerned, in Mexico the results of this activity over

the elapsed time period were summed up and, on the basis of experience accumulated over the decade, quite specific measures for conducting demographic policy were proposed for various regions depending on the level of their socio-economic development.

At the beginning of the 1960s, as the facts show, the hypotheses advanced at that time on the further growth of world population were, it seems, sufficiently well-founded but too categorical. Few were bold enough to predict to the year 2000. These "fateful" data were a completely impenetrable screen for the demographers. Currently the specialists, on the contrary, can easily handle forecasts not only to 2025, but even to 2100, using the most varied of methods therein. They are no longer limited just to the extrapolation of past and present observable processes into the future: the forecasts take into account the maximum possible number of factors that can in one way or another affect the development of the demographic situation.

This relates first and foremost to such a factor, closely linked with the population growth rate, as the birth rate. Over the ten years from 1974 to 1984, the birth rate declined by an average of 17 percent for the whole world and 19 percent for the developing countries. But average figures do not always reflect the actual situation. Thus, fertility (the average number of children per woman of childbearing age) is 6.3 in Bangladesh, 4.7 in India, 1.8 in the United States and 1.6 in Europe. It is well known that the optimal variant for any country is 2.2-2.3 children per woman, which ensures the simple or slightly expanded reproduction of the population. It follows from this that the developed countries should stimulate the birth rate, while the developing countries should reduce it.

The situation is complicated by the fact that in practice the reverse processes are occurring. It is difficult to say which is more difficult: to convince the European woman to give birth or to dissuade, say, an Indian woman from doing so. Furthermore, a comparatively small generation, which was born in the 1960s, is reaching the age most favorable for child-bearing. A reduction in the amount of the population and its "aging"--a topical problem for the developed countries--is in direct opposition to the rapid growth and "growing young" of the population of the developing countries--a problem whose acuteness cannot be underestimated.

Another factor having considerable effect on world population growth is the death rate of people overall and children in particular. In the early years after the Second World War, the death rate in most of the developing countries declined considerably, which is explained by the broad dissemination of imported medicines unknown earlier. Their application, as well as the elimination of the major seats of epidemics, reduced, and moreover on a scale unforeseen earlier, the number of infectious and parasitic diseases, which often had a beneficial outcome, especially among children. The average level of mortality in the world declined from 19.7 per 1,000 in 1950-1955 to 10.6 in 1980-1985. This process cannot be infinite, however, and has recently declined substantially if it has not stopped altogether. It is apparent that a further reduction in mortality in the liberated countries can be achieved only through the expensive route of efficient and extensive vaccination of the population, improvement of the state of the environment, the provision of

residents with standard drinking water and balanced nourishment and the like. The comprehensive implementation of such a program is still not within the power of any of these young states.

The problem of child mortality is the subject of especial attention on the part of medical workers, demographers and sociologists, especially that of children less than a year old. This problem is directly linked to the problem of the birth rate, since it has been noted that the higher the level of infant mortality, the higher the birth rate in the country and vice versa. The level of infant mortality fluctuates within a very broad range: in the developed countries, an average of 17 children under a year old die per thousand children, while 92 do in the developing countries, while for 26 developing countries this indicator exceeds 120, and in the most backward reaches 200.

One of the characteristic features of the modern demographic situation, also noted at the conference in Mexico, is the fact that a considerable number of the liberated countries have entered the stage of so-called "demographic transition" over the last decade (this is the transition to a new type of population reproduction: from a high level of birth rate and mortality to a lower one). The "demographic transition," however, has begun in far from all of the young states. The majority of the population of the African continent and Bangladesh, Pakistan, Iran, Nepal and Bhutan in Asia, as well as the oil-producing Arab states, still remain outside of this process. The level of the birth rate also depends on the situation of the country with regard to the stage of the "demographic transition."

For countries entering the "transition stage," a reduction in the birth rate is quite apparent, but for the remaining developing countries it remains at practically the previous level level, and its inconsequential reduction is almost fully compensated for by a decline in the mortality rate. Therefore, it became clear as early as the beginning of the 1980s that with such demographic development, the population of only those countries that had not entered the "transition stage" would soon be comparable to the population of all of the industrially developed countries taken together.

The following data were cited at the Mexico conference on the distribution of world population in 1985. The total population of the planet is 4.826 billion people. Of these, there are 1.17 billion in the industrially developed countries. In the young states states entering the stage of "demographic transition" there are 1.695 billion, and in the developing countries that have not entered the "transition stage" there are 0.901 billion. The population of China is 1.06 billion people.

It is not so much the demographic growth as it is the conditions under which it is occurring that is evoking ever greater anxiety recently on the part of Western demographers. It is well known that in the developing countries with a population of 3.6 billion people, according to official international statistics about three billion people currently live in a state of poverty, do not receive full nourishment and suffer greatly from diseases, while about a billion of them are even below the officially permissible "poverty level."

The complexity of the modern demographic situation in the world is sharply aggravated by the worsening of the food problem. According to data of the UN Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO) for 1983, a relatively small portion of the total volume of basic grains production fell to the liberated countries, and moreover many of these countries specialize chiefly in the production of tropical grains. Some industrially developed countries produce grain, milk and meat in abundance, but they do not lower the prices for them on the world market, not to mention "share the extra" with those in need. "Free economy," which the American administration stands up for, is in fact nothing more than the free penetration of Western and first and foremost American capital into the young states.

In the developing countries, few feel it is currently possible to achieve a reduction in the rate of population growth without combining it with the appropriate rates of economic and social development. But notwithstanding the fact that the presence of cause-and-effect links between these processes is acknowledged, efforts to ignore them are continuing to the present day. In several countries the view is even widespread that the standard of living of the popular masses can be raised and the birth rate can be significantly lowered exclusively through the intensive development, for example, of the educational system. Lost from view here is the fact that a certain level of economic development is essential in order to provide even universal elementary education.

The problem of urbanization is also acquiring ever greater urgency today. The consequences of the "population explosion" are most appreciable in the cities, the population of which is increasing not only through natural growth, but through immigration from rural areas. It should be noted, however, that in many industrially developed countries the urbanization process is practically complete. Up to 75 percent of the population lives in their cities, and specialists assume that by the year 2000 this figure will reach 80 percent and will stabilize at that level. But nonetheless 57 percent of the population of the developing countries lives in rural areas, and in some of them considerably more (about 75 percent in Tropical Africa and India). By the end of the century, urbanization in these countries will reach 51 percent and, more than anything, will continue, which will inevitably evoke a further worsening of all of the socio-economic problems connected with this process.

The number of large cities in the world is growing continuously: in 1950 there were two cities with a population of ten million--New York and London. Today there are 13 of them, and Tokyo heads the list (about 12 million). By the year 2000, there will be 25 cities in the world with ten million or more people, and the largest will be Mexico City, Sao Paulo and Shanghai. The very fact of an increase in the number of megalopolitan centers is impressive, but even more striking is the growth in the population of the cities themselves. Thus, all specialists are confident that by the end of this century the population of Mexico City will reach 30 million--a fact unprecedented in all of demographic history. This signifies that all of the population of England and France of the 18th century will be living within the boundaries of a

single city. The government of Mexico regards these forecasts with a dose of skepticism, but is nonetheless applying wholly specific efforts so that the infrastructure of the city will be able to handle the growing wave of new residents rolling into the capital.

The urbanization process has even greater significance for the small- and medium-sized urban agglomerations than for the large ones. Over the last five years, for example, the population of cities with more than 40,000 residents in the developing countries has increased an average of nine percent a year (compared with two percent annual population growth in the liberated countries that occurs as a result of the "population explosion"). These figures visibly demonstrate the scale of the urbanization process and the place of the migration component in this process.

As for international migration, the question has recently acquired particular importance as a result of the growing disparity between the "rich" and "poor" countries. Demographic problems on this plane turn out to be associated with the problem of political refugees and the growth of unemployment. Thus, the UN supreme commissioner on refugee problems indicated in his speech to the Mexico conference that currently about ten million people have been forced to live outside of the boundaries of their country for political, economic and social reasons. The Palestinian people are in the most desperate situation, insofar as half of all Palestinians--2.5 million people--reside in various countries as refugees. The problem of the refugees is exceedingly serious in East Asia, Africa and Central America.

The International Labor Organization acknowledged in one of its recent reports that another problem--migratory workers--is closely linked with this one, and that the resolution of the problem of people who have departed their countries for economic reasons and migrants is an extremely difficult matter, insofar as about 400 million residents of the liberated countries, according to ILO data, do not have work or are only partially employed.

The whole history of human society proves that even with the proper socio-economic progress, the demographic behavior of members of society is the last to change. Moral and ethical norms, the family code of many centuries, discrimination that still exists with regard to women and the influence of the church continue to have an immediate effect on demographic processes.

It is important to emphasize that the too-pessimistic forecasts of many demographers and many Western public figures have not been confirmed. The world has for too long been too frightened by every possible coming catastrophe, and the keenness of the reaction to them has dulled somewhat. It is furthermore impossible not to note that the policy of the "planned family," even in such countries as India and Mexico where it is extremely difficult, is beginning to have certain results and that such policies are being conducted in the countries where 80 percent of the population of the Earth resides.

The execution of the necessary social transformations with a regard for the specific living conditions in each individual country plays an enormous role in the solution of demographic problems.

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## THIRD WORLD ISSUES

### CHINESE SPECIFIC FEATURES IN BUILDING SOCIALISM ASSESSED

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 12, Dec 86 pp 10-14

[Article by Doctor of Historical Sciences L. Delyusin under the rubric "In the Socialist Countries": "Specific Features in Building Socialism in China"]

[Text] The socio-political and economic processes transpiring in China in the 1980s are typified by radical changes in all spheres of the life of the Chinese people. It is possible to state without exaggeration that this country is today undergoing an era of deep reforms. The changes are affecting the most varied aspects of society: from the economic and political structure to elementary sanitary and hygienic norms and behavior within the family and on the street. The pace of these changes, the beginnings of which were laid by the 3rd CCP Central Committee Plenum (December 1978), is strengthening and the scale of their implementation is expanding. Opposition to the reforms is also being noted that takes on various forms: discrediting of the reforms, efforts to use them for selfish aims, and the retention of old institutions with formal approval of the new course. Ever newer and more complex problems are arising in the course of carrying out the reforms, as are new and unforeseen contradictions. An intensive campaign to "establish order in the party" is also underway along with the economic reforms, in the course of which the party is cleansing itself of opponents of reform.

The new policy of the Chinese leadership that took shape after the 11th Convocation of the 3rd CCP Central Committee Plenum is evoking the most varied judgments and evaluations of Chinese theoreticians--philosophers, economists and historians--as well as party and business workers occupied in practical activities. Everything in China today is being questioned, but if all the discussions are reduced to a common denominator, then it can be said that the subject that is occupying the minds of the Chinese is the question of Chinese-style socialism (or the Chinese slant), that is, the question of the specific national features of the Chinese path toward socialism. This is not a new question for the Chinese communists. In essence, it arose before the Chinese leadership immediately after the victory of the popular revolution in October of 1949. Searches for the specific paths for constructing socialism in China were eased by the availability of the rich Soviet experience, the assimilation and utilization of which should have been accomplished with a regard for the specific historical conditions and national traditions of the country.

Marxism-Leninism teaches that the general fundamental tenets of scientific communism are realized in different manners in different countries and that there is no one, common route toward socialism for everyone, and its construction should be accompanied by a search for new approaches and solutions, conditioned by the objective and subjective factors that manifest themselves differently under the specific conditions of individual countries. General laws and reference points in the development of society along the socialist path do not refute, but rather assume, a variety of specific methods for the solution of social problems that are historically extant in this or that country. The Marxists have always warned of the error and danger of copying someone else's experience, even the most progressive. They have always demanded a strict regard for the specific national nature. The complexity and difficulty of the question consists of combining the general principles of socialist construction with specific national conditions so that the national form does not emasculate the socialist substance of the socio-economic transformations. The Marxist-Leninists have warned that the transition to socialism will be the more difficult, the more backward the society that is entering into socialist transformations.

It should be noted that before the Great Leap Forward, the Soviet experience was not employed mechanically in China. It is enough to indicate the distinctiveness of the resolution of the issue of the kulak [rich peasant] in the cooperation of the Chinese village, as well as the methods of eliminating capitalist property in industry and trade. It must also be noted for the sake of justice that far from all Chinese theoreticians have a negative evaluation of that period when study in the Soviet Union was the chief slogan of the PRC. Articles are encountered in which it is proven argumentatively that in the 1950s, in the restorative period and during the first five-year plan, it was namely thanks to Soviet assistance that China was able to lay the foundations of socialist industrialization and achieve notable successes in its economic development.

What is the essence of the modern theory of "Chinese socialism"? It is mainly the complete repudiation of the methods and institutions of the period of the Great Leap Forward and the Cultural Revolution as not reflecting the specific national nature of China and not meeting its specific historical features, and is therefore rejected as groundless and unable to ensure the resolution of the tasks of the socialist modernization of the country.

The Cultural Revolution, the organizer and leader of which, as noted by the Chinese press, was Mao Tse-Tung himself, is today considered to be a completely erroneous political campaign which inflicted an enormous blow on the cause of constructing socialism. It "went against the principles of Marxism-Leninism and did not correspond to the actual situation in China." (Footnote 1) (RENMIN RIBAO, 21 Aug 85.) It is well known that the theoretical basis of the Cultural Revolution was the Maoist thesis on "continuation of the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat." It is today considered leftist, as are the other theoretical and practical institutions of the Cultural Revolution, namely: "Politics are the commanding force," "Class struggle is the principal line of all work," "A strike is a right-wing matter," "An ignoramus can and should manage specialists," "Knowledge leads to revisionist resurrections," the thesis of the "manifestation of bourgeois

elements within the CCP" and others. The cult of Mao Tse-Tung, which reached an unheard-of scale during the Cultural Revolution, has been declared a "mindless fantasy."

The new program, which the Chinese leadership began to develop right after the death of Mao Tse-Tung and the arrest of the "four" (the Gang of Four), incorporated the idea of turning the party toward economic construction with an attempt to preserve the prestige of Mao Tse-Tung and his policies. Hua Guofeng proclaimed his ideas as absolutely correct and infallible for all time, declaring in February of 1977 that "All that corresponds to the ideas of Comrade Mao Tse-Tung we support; all that does not meet them, we renounce." (This utterance in abbreviated form is called the "two absolutes.") In counterbalance to this, the thesis of "practice as the criterion of truth" was advanced, which gave impetus to the process of critical reconsideration of past policies.

After the 3rd CCP Central Committee Plenum, a movement of struggle against leftist views and institutions developed within party ranks. For the first time in PRC history, leftist errors were described as the chief danger threatening the cause of socialism in the country and the vitality of the party itself. Before this, the opinion that the chief danger came from rightist inclinations and revisionism was the customary and longstanding one.

A new approach to the development of the theory of "Chinese socialism" was noted in the attempt to put an end to leftist principles and to evaluate the extant situation in China soberly and realistically and on that basis to prepare a socio-economic program that is planned for many years to come. It must be emphasized herein that, as opposed to previous programs that promised the Chinese people "ten thousand years of happiness after three years of dogged labor," the Chinese leaders today speak of the long time periods for the construction of socialist society. Emphasis is placed on the fact that the country is just in the beginning stage of socialist development. Modesty in the evaluation of the successes achieved after 1949 and constant reminders of the backwardness of the country have become a characteristic trait of publications and speeches dedicated to reviewing the problems of socialist construction in China.

These data are cited in particular: in industry and transport, 25 percent of the equipment is obsolete and in need of immediate reconstruction; 60 percent of the machine-building products are at the level of the 1940s and 1950s, and 30 percent is at the level of the 1960s. The PRC is 40 years behind the United States in motor-vehicle production, 20 years behind in metallurgy and the production of electric power and 15-20 years behind in oil production. The efficiency of the majority of the industrial enterprises of the country is still too low. The average labor productivity of the Chinese worker is ten times lower than the worker of industrially developed states. In 1979-1982, only 31 percent of 371 enterprises constructed were operating at full capacity.

In this regard, the old position that the development of industrial relations can and should outstrip the level of development of productive forces is being subjected to criticism. In the Chinese press, such theories are

metaphorically described as an effort to dress up an eight-year-old child in a suit made for a thirty-year-old man, and hoping thereby that the child will begin to grow faster. The thesis of the decisive role of the social superstructure, signifying a disregard for the actual and factual state of the economic base, has today been rejected.

The low level of productive forces is considered by Chinese theoreticians to be that trait of the specific national nature of China that cannot fail to be taken into account in the composition of plans and the determination of the forms of socialist development. In essence, it is openly acknowledged today that the material foundation of socialist society has not yet been created in the country and that it is impossible to build it in a short period of time.

Another trait of the specific national character is the acute shortage of scientific and technical and management personnel. In China there are currently 21 million rank-and-file workers and 10 million rank-and-file workers that possess special and technical knowledge. Among all of these rank-and-file workers, two thirds are people 26 to 45 years old, but only two million in the 35-45 age group have higher education, and moreover 700,000 of these people with higher education are former "Hongweiding students" who studied in 1966-1970, while roughly a million went through higher-educational programs in all sorts of pseudo-universities or through independent studies. More than 10,000 people "are graduates and graduate students of the higher educational institutions of the Soviet Union and European countries." (Footnote 2) (Ibid., 23 Mar 84.) For every thousand industrial employees there are, according to 1980s data, 37 engineers and technicians, and in the villages, for every 10,000 peasants employed in production, there is one agricultural technician.

In the ideological realm of the specific nature of China, in the opinion of Chinese theoreticians, there is a domination of feudal traditions and customs and outdated notions that the chief source of wealth for the population is cultivation, and trade and other forms of activity are secondary. (An old saying goes "Cultivation gives life to the people, and trade ruins them.") Chinese authors note that traditional psychology dictated that people not strut, not try to move forward, not be singled out among others. This was reflected in the "persecution of the talented" in the Cultural Revolution.

The works of a number of Chinese authors indicate the absence of democratic traditions in the country as a specific Chinese feature. Chinese society did not pass through a stage of parliamentary development and in essence has never known an electoral system. The first experiences in the development of democratic forms of socio-political life, made after the proclamation of the PRC, were halted at the end of the 1950s. During the Cultural Revolution, remnants of democracy were decisively eliminated and it was impossible to speak of any constitutional rights for the individual. The revolutionary committees created at that time, whose members were chosen and designated from above, swallowed up both the party and the state organs of power and decisively interred democracy.

Among the specific natural geographic features of the country are the comparatively small area for plowing and suitable for working the land along

with the extreme multitude of the population. About 20 million people reach working age each year in China, and industry can absorb just two million of them. This fact can represent the overpopulation of the rural areas: there are 80 million peasants in the province of Sichuan (wherein there is less than one mu of land per person), while 30 million people are sufficient for agricultural work. According to nationwide data, from a third to a half of the workforce could be freed from agricultural production without any detriment whatsoever.

All of these objectively existing factors have left their mark on the forms and methods, as well as the rate, of socialist construction in China, making up its specific national character that the leftists tried to ignore. Today, Chinese theoreticians note that the specific national character does not ease, but rather makes more difficult, the advance of the country along the path of socialism. At the same time, acknowledging the weakness of the material and technical and cultural bases for the construction of socialism in China, Chinese propaganda criticizes those who feel that its objective conditions do not permit the advancement of the construction of socialism as a practical goal. The opponents of socialism write that China has not matured to the point of posing the question of the practical implementation of socialism, and therefore announce that the tasks posed by the CCP are unrealistic and erroneous. Proving the necessity and possibility of constructing a socialist society on Chinese soil, although not in the near future, the Marxists refer to the fact that in the post-revolutionary years the productive forces in Chinese society reached a level that makes a further advance toward socialism possible. Furthermore, they feel, the sufficiently high level of development of the productive forces is a decisive, but not the only absolutely essential, condition for the construction of socialism. They cite the political factor as a most important one for easing the building of socialism in the PRC--the dictatorship of the proletariat, based on the union of the working class, the peasantry and the intelligentsia--and the leadership of the Communist Party armed with Marxist-Leninist theory.

The Chinese press is widely discussing the question that for the achievement of socialism in China, it is essential not only to create the appropriate material and technical base, but also a "high socialist spiritual standard," the core of which should be communist ideology. The Chinese leadership considers the posing of the question of the creation of a socialist spiritual standard as the new contribution of the 12th CCP Congress (September of 1982) to the development of the theory of building socialism in China. Emphasizing the importance of this problem, Hu Yaobang said in his report at the congress: "Ignoring such an important task as the affirmation of a socialist spiritual morality in all of society, directed by the ideas of communism, can lead people to a one-sided understanding of socialism and the concentration of their attention on just the construction of material culture or, worse, evoke among them the pursuit of naked material advantage. And then we will be unable to modernize in a socialist direction, and even socialist society will be deprived of its ideals and purpose, deprived of spiritual stimulus and the will to fight, and moreover, it will be unable to resist the influence of disintegrative factors and can even turn onto the path of deformed development and the path of degeneration."

Chinese theoreticians acknowledge that the building of "complete socialism" (communism) in China requires surmounting a multitude of obstacles, to which the labor of many generations will go. The thesis recently advanced by some economists and philosophers on the transitional nature of Chinese society and on the fact that China is experiencing an era of transition from capitalism to socialism has today been rejected, insofar as the process of socialist transformations in the city and village was completed in the 1950s. The opinions of those who judged the carrying out of socialist transformations in the PRC as premature have also been repudiated.

Acknowledging the presence of class struggle in Chinese society, the 12th CCP Congress at the same time affirmed the renunciation of the position of "continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat" that was the ideological basis for the establishment of the "feudal-fascist regime" during the Cultural Revolution. The congress decisively refused to consider class struggle as the chief link in all party activity on the basis that class contradictions between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie were resolved in the 1950s and the bourgeoisie as a class has ceased to exist in China. The chief contradiction in Chinese society today is cited as the contradiction between the continuously growing material and cultural needs of the people and backward social production. The solution of this contradiction, as noted in the official documents, can be achieved only on the path of economic and cultural construction, settling up today with the serious errors that were permitted as a result of the prolonged sway of the leftist line.

Economic construction in China is being implemented on the basis of state ownership of the industrial enterprise, agriculture, transportation and communications. Cooperative and private property exist alongside it. The flexible combination of planned and market principles with the deciding significance of the plan is considered to be the distinguishing feature of economic construction today. Another feature is the encouragement and development of cooperative (artel-type) forms of organization for small industry and trade enterprises, shops and various types of organizations for domestic services to the population. A third feature is the creation of special economic zones, where state capital collaborates with foreign capital and constructs joint Chinese-foreign enterprises.

Cooperative property, which in the last few years has undergone radical changes, predominates in the modern Chinese village. Having decisively renounced the idea of peoples' communes, a characteristic feature of which was the combination of large farms with a high degree of collectivization, the CCP has adopted a policy of developing the productive activeness of the peasantry by way of transferring land to them for cultivation on a contract basis. This system has been widely disseminated in China today. Under it, as affirmed by Chinese authors, the socialist nature of cooperative ownership of the land is not altered. The peasant, receiving land under contract, has only the right to use it, and he cannot sell or rent it. The introduction of a contract system provides great operational independence for the peasants and sharply increases their vested material interest in the results of labor.

This system, according to the testimony of the Chinese press, assists in raising the marketability of Chinese agriculture and the level of

specialization, increasing the income of the working peasantry and limiting incompetent interference on the part of rank-and-file workers. Preserving the small size of agricultural production, the contract system even permits a strengthening of the "socialization" of production in the village, even in the face of a lack of mechanization. Its specific feature (that is, the "Chinese way") is considered to be that it does not divert manpower from the village, but preserves it, stimulating them to take up trades or other cottage industries, from a lack of which the Chinese village suffers today. It is proposed that this type of "socialization," based on the involvement of the peasants freed from cultivational labor in the realm of local industry, transport and trade, that will lead to the formation of urban-type settlements that will become the economic, cultural-enlightenment and scientific and technical centers of the rural regions of the country.

Chinese theoreticians consider the retention of the dictatorship of peoples' democracy as a specific feature of the political system of "Chinese socialism." The use of the term "dictatorship of peoples' democracy" makes it possible, as is noted in publications on this theme, to emphasize more precisely the democratic nature of state power in China, which is especially necessary, insofar as during the Cultural Revolution the concept of "dictatorship of the proletariat" was identified with terrorism, repression, lawlessness and the arbitrariness of power in the eyes of the population and was crudely distorted, becoming a synonym for violence. It is emphasized that the guiding role belongs to the Communist Party in the system of dictatorship of peoples' democracy and that this is an unforgettable guarantee of the movement of the Chinese people along the socialist path.

The materials of the 12th CCP Congress, as well as the new constitution of the PRC (1982), particularly delineate the position that the party should act within the framework of the constitution and the law and that "all party organizations and all party members should strictly observe the constitution and do not have the right to oppose the observance of the constitution with the conduct of party policy, they cannot have special rights beyond the constitution." (Footnote 3) (Ibid., 18 Dec 82.) This position, as testified to by the press, is not acknowledged by many rank-and-file workers to be an axiom and is considered an obstacle to normal work that hinders the effective control of the masses. The rank-and-file workers are accustomed to the fact that the party leadership cannot be linked with any laws. They simply have no legal consciousness, and until recently they have been unable to understand how they can command and lead the masses if they are obliged to uphold the law. "Which is supreme in the end," they ask, "the party or the law?"

In considering the articles of the Chinese authors overall, it should be noted that the concept of "socialism with Chinese features" has not yet acquired a legal form. The development of a theory of a national Chinese form of socialism, judging by features in the Chinese press, is still going on. It is essential to keep in mind herein that the authors of the concept of a Chinese path to socialism are defending it from the criticism of both right (on the part of the adherents of bourgeois liberalism) and the left--on the part of those who as before continue to adhere to the old principles and consider the current policies of the CCP leadership as a retreat from the principles of socialism, leading to the restoration of capitalism.

In the struggle with leftist ideas, damage to the principle of egalitarianism and the ruin of the cry of poverty as a social ideal and as the best means of transition to communism are being noted. The CCP is calling for a striving for general prosperity without the fear that one could become, through his labor, prosperous ahead of others. The press is emphasizing the significance of the growth of productive forces on the basis of the utilization of the latest achievements of science and technology. The recently flourishing idle talk, boasting and self-satisfaction are being judged as most dangerous to socialism. The idea of the necessity of creating such socio-economic and political-organizational forms in society and the party that would reliably ensure China against a repetition of harmful upheavals is widely propagated.

The new approach of the leadership to the intelligentsia is especially irritating and disconcerting for the proponents of the Cultural Revolution. Chinese propaganda emphasizes that the country needs knowledgeable and professionally educated people and laments the fact that the members of the intelligentsia are poorly utilized and that they are not permitted to work at full strength or to employ their knowledge in the interests of the people. The intelligentsia is today declared to be a part of the working class, a policy of the full utilization of their knowledge, abilities and talents is followed and their advancement to responsible work and inclusion in the CCP is encouraged. The leftist rank-and-file workers are meeting this policy in a hostile manner. They declare: "We have conquered the Earth, and we put the intellectuals on the throne"; "If many intellectuals join the party, then the party will change its hue." (Footnote 4) (Ibid., 24 Dec 83.) They have been forced to agree that they cannot get by without the intellectuals, that "it is possible to make use" of them, but they insist that they cannot be trusted and they must constantly be "re-educated." The advancement of intellectuals to management work is evaluated by many local rank-and-file personnel as a weakening of the CCP and a "violation of the line of the masses."

The adversaries of the course adopted are motivated in their attacks on CCP policies by the fact that in the course of implementing the economic reforms, many negative phenomena have been detected. Distrust of the party has been expressed in youth circles along with which doubts about the advantages of socialism are openly expressed, an increase in Western fashions has been observed, and there is interest only in how to provide for personal happiness, careers and material welfare. With the onset of reforms, there have been instances of theft of state property, and bribery and corruption are flourishing among business and administrative workers, all of which are called serious economic crimes in the PRC today.

The opponents of the new course are declaring that this, they say, is a direct consequence of the reforms and therefore they must be refrained from. Naturally, it would be incorrect to deny that some negative phenomena have arisen in the course of reform. These are, however, first and foremost the result not of the reforms themselves, but of the disintegration of Chinese society that the Cultural Revolution entailed, when lawlessness and

arbitrariness reigned and when unscrupulous, ignorant and mercenary-minded people, and sometimes even criminal elements, were advanced into party leadership work, announcing for all to hear their devotion to the boss and their readiness to fulfill all of his instructions. The CCP has turned out to be littered with such people.

It is no accident that a campaign to establish order in the party, which in many cases signifies nothing less than a purge and the ridding of the party, state and business apparatus of those people who, having come into leadership in the course of the Cultural Revolution, are continuing to oppose actively the new policies today, is being conducted on a broad scale alongside the implementation of reforms in China. The "establishment of order in the party" begun in September of 1983 has been completed in its leadership organs and is now being conducted in the local party organizations. Its aim is not only to cleanse the criminal elements from the CCP, the stooges of the "gang" of Lin Biao--Jiang Qing, but also to animate party life, improve its work style and eliminate bureaucratism, greed, mercenary-mindedness, factionalism, deception, double dealing and idle talk, as well as bourgeois liberalism, and in the end to raise the ideological and organizational level of work and re-orient rank-and-file workers to the implementation of socialist modernization as the chief task before the CCP.

The 6th Plenum of the CCP Central Committee, held in September of 1986, required that party workers devote greater attention to the ideological education of communists and all workers. "An important feature of socialist society," it was emphasized at it, "is a socialist spiritual civilization aimed at Marxism." (Footnote 5) (Ibid., 29 Sep 86.)

The Chinese press repeats from day to day that the party and the people will still have to surmount many difficulties and resolve many complex problems on the path to socialism--both those that have already appeared in the course of the reforms, and those that could appear.

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## THIRD WORLD ISSUES

### STATUS REPORT ON FORMING ETHIOPIAN AGRICULTURAL COOPERATIVES

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 12, Dec 86 pp 17-20

[Article by V. Paukov, director of the Iznoskovo Sovkhoz of Kaluga Oblast, and Candidate of Economic Sciences G. Polyakov under the rubric "On the Path of Progressive Transformations": "Ethiopia--Theory and Practice of Cooperation"]

[Excerpts] More than 85 percent of the able-bodied population of the country is employed in the principal sector of the Ethiopian economy--the agrarian sector--and it generates about half of the GNP and 90 percent of export products (by cost). Three quarters of the capacity of the processing industry is utilized for the handling of agricultural raw materials.

The fact that 94 percent of gross agrarian production is produced by small peasant farms testifies to the topicality of the subject we are reviewing, and it is namely with the development of the cooperative movement that both the prospects for socio-economic and political restructuring of the village and the possibilities for resolving a number of the most acute and pressing problems of the present day are associated, first of all the food problem. The program of the Workers' Party of Ethiopia notes that "The accelerated development of agriculture will be accomplished through the firm execution in practice of a policy of expanding the state farms and the association of scattered peasant farms into cooperatives."

The Ethiopian cooperative plan is an effort to interpret Leninist ideas of cooperation under extremely specific local conditions which are largely distinct from the conditions and cooperative tradition of post-revolutionary Russia.

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In order to understand correctly the concept of cooperation that has been developed by the leadership of Ethiopia, it is necessary, in our opinion, to give first of all a correct definition of the various forms of peasant associations that arose after the revolution in that country and to trace their genesis and interconnections. Insofar as the artificial application of terms and analogues from Soviet activity to Ethiopian cooperation cannot facilitate the study of this distinctive, complex and contradictory process, we feel it is essential to either refrain completely from the definitions that

are utilized in analyzing Ethiopian cooperation in our scientific literature, or to give more precise and sometimes simply literal translations for them from Amharic along with the use of already fixed terms.

More than 12 years have passed since the imperial regime was overthrown in Ethiopia, and the overwhelming portion of its rural population is in one way or another already encompassed by cooperation. The following forms of peasant associations exist: peasant associations; support cooperatives; and, malba- and volba-type cooperatives. Higher forms of cooperation are also envisaged-- associations of the voland type, which in turn in the future should be turned into woreda voland councils. (Footnote 1) (On an administrative-territorial basis, Ethiopia is divided into provinces (kifle hagr), oblasts (awrajja) and rayons (woreda).)

The peasant associations (PAs) or, in the literal translation from Amharic, "societies of peasants of the neighborhood," are today the most widespread peasant organizations: more than five million farms are included in 20,000 such societies. The regulations governing their creation were promulgated on 4 Mar 75 in Decree No 31 "The Establishment of Public Ownership of Agricultural Lands." The PAs have functionally replaced the obsolete institution of the elders, tax collectors and the like, that were realized in the name of the landowners by the local administration in the localities.

We note that the PA is not an administration, not another organ of power, as is erroneously supposed by several researchers of modern Ethiopia. The primary state administrative formation in the country is the woreda. That is where the administration, police etc. are, whose activity is monitored by the awrajjas, which are part of the provinces, directly subordinate to the central administration. The peasant neighborhood societies (KAs) are not combined vertically with the organs of power of the woredas, awrajjas etc., but with the associations on the corresponding levels and, finally, the All-Ethiopian Peasant Association. Thus, the KAs are under the control of the administration but are not an administration themselves at all, although they can fulfill several functions charged to them by local powers.

The peasant neighborhood societies are an essential stage in awakening the peasants for joint activity, which, by the way, follows from decree No 71 of 14 Dec 75 "Organizing and Reinforcing Peasant Associations." It is clearly stated in the preamble that the "creation of associations is essential for the broad masses of Socialist Ethiopia, so that they themselves manage their own affairs, solve their own local problems and participate directly in political, economic and social activity."

These societies are cooperation as well, if at the lowest level, cooperation on the basis of joint ownership of the land, which is cultivated by each individually. But there already exist more common, jointly worked fields, the harvest from which goes to public needs or is stored as an emergency reserve. The peasants jointly resolve issues of grain procurement, sale of products, distribution of fertilizers, high-quality seeds etc. Thus, the peasant entering a KA is not a private trader, a "spontaneous force," an antagonist against the newly built society.

The most important task of the KA is to prepare the creation of the subsequent and higher form of cooperation--support cooperatives or, in literal translation from Amharic, "societies of peasants for the joint operation of support." It is essential to emphasize that these are not supply and sales cooperatives similar to those that exist in the USSR and a number of other countries. Instead of the purchase of products from their members and the sale of consumer goods to them, the functions of the support cooperative are "the expansion of production of agricultural crops, the supply of improved tools of labor, the supply of tractors for agricultural operations, the construction of schools, medical-care stations, mills, roads and the like." This cooperative is a school for the management of property, joint work and management. Its chief task is to foster operational economic thinking in the peasants and to break their preconception against joint labor.

Further development could progress along the path of inclusion in the malba of an ever greater number of members of the peasant neighborhood society without altering the stage of cooperation. We note that the common fields of the KAs and the individual fields of the peasants who do not enter a malba continue to exist side by side. But those cooperating in the malba can also, without waiting for the entry of all members of peasant neighborhood societies, decide to convert it to another higher form of cooperation--a volba-type combination (an abbreviation of the Amharic words for "joint ownership"). Now not only the land is collectivized, but also the livestock and the tools of labor, while only an 0.1-hectare section of land along with domestic livestock and poultry remains in private use.

In the same way that the peasant neighborhood societies facilitate the creation of societies for joint work in supporting the peasants, the malba-type cooperatives create conditions for the organization of volba cooperatives. These are not cooperatives isolated from each other, but different stages of one and the same cooperative. It is completely natural that the support cooperatives frequently grant credit and render direct assistance to the malba- and volba-type cooperatives, considering such support as one of their chief tasks, and that the cooperatives are headed by one and the same people. That is why the support cooperatives and the malba- and volba-type cooperatives merge at the next stage of cooperation into voland-type associations.

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How is this program realized in practice? The voland stage of cooperation has not yet been reached anywhere in Ethiopia, not to mention the woreda voland councils. What are the principal problems of the cooperative movement in the country today?

Cooperation in the Ethiopian village, as in the Russian one, began before the revolution. But the similarity ends there. In Russia it was fully displaced by the First World War, the civil wars and the policy of military communism. In Ethiopia the roots of cooperation and certain practical experience from the pre-revolutionary period was retained to a much greater extent than seems possible at first glance.

The idea of cooperation was utilized by the imperial regime, which conducted a policy of "modernization of feudalism." Cooperation was legislatively affirmed by Declaration No 241 of 1966, which was abolished only in 1978, that is, in the fourth year of the revolution, three years after the execution of agrarian reforms.

The decrees and directives of the new revolutionary government altered the purpose of cooperation, transforming it from a method of modernizing a primitive technology of subsistence farming into a well-defined program for the comprehensive transformation of the village. The development of the modern cooperative movement in Ethiopian agriculture began with the proclamation of a campaign of "idget behibret" ("development without collaboration"). The basic purpose of this campaign, which was most rapidly developed in 1974-1975, was assisting the execution of land reform in the towns, the distribution of the land and the creation of peasant associations.

The unique distinctiveness (not always of positive features) in the reorganization of old cooperative associations and the transformation of the new came from its most active participants--teachers, military servicemen, students and upperclassmen. Emissaries from the cities were not only numerous and organized, but had a great deal of power. Many of them, agitating for a restructuring of agriculture on socialist principles, were for immediate collectivization. But this did not occur. Furthermore, as a result of the lack of observance of the principle of voluntarism, the idea of cooperation was seriously discredited in many regions.

Such was the first unsuccessful experience is "accelerating events" that occurred from the end of 1974 to December of 1975, where it was emphasized that "agricultural cooperatives are organizations created by the peasants on a voluntary basis."

In 1976-1978, emphasis in cooperation was quite officially placed on the development of its most simple forms--the support cooperatives. Life itself suggested the thought of creating them.

In the process of the execution of agrarian reform and the formation of their own associations by the peasants themselves, the following practice was quite broadly disseminated: a general KA meeting obligated all of its members to work for a certain number of hours on a section of land that had earlier belonged to the landowner and after the reforms was not divided up among the peasants, but was at the disposal of the whole association. These public fields existed in many regions of Ethiopia, especially in the south and southwest, where almost all KAs collectively worked sections of 10-30 hectares.

Economic benefit was hardly the chief motive motivating the peasants to collective labor. The desire sooner predominated to show the former landowners that it was now namely the peasants who were the masters of the land, since in Ethiopia the traditional method of consolidating land ownership was to work it. The peasants considered the public fields as an addition to their individual allotments, and there was therefore no discussion on which owner to give preference to--collective or private.

In order to assimilate the new lands, however, as well as to procure modern machinery and construct warehouse accommodations, mills and roads, the manpower and resources of a single peasant association were not enough. Many KAs began to create cooperatives for the joint execution of the indicated measures and operations without losing their own independence therein. Then the right of the peasant associations to create such cooperatives was juridically consolidated by Decree No 71.

The formation of support cooperatives proceeded at a rapid pace. In 1976 there were 398 of them with a membership of 440,000, while in 1977 there were 1,601 (about 1.3 million people) and by 1978 more than two thousand.

The 1976-1978 period was characterized, on the one hand, by considerable successes in the cause of socio-political restructuring of the village, the realization of the basic positions of agrarian reform, the elimination of feudal land ownership and the reinforcement of revolutionary democratic power in the localities; on the other hand, it was during this period that negative factors associated with the breaking of the old economic mechanism became more acute, which brought about a decline in the level of agricultural production, breached the links between city and village and worsened the problem of the supply of the urban population with food.

Under these conditions, an increase in agricultural commodity output was considered by the government to be one of the most vital tasks, and the "collective fields" of the peasant associations produced practically no marketable commodities.

At the same time, experience in working them along with the successful execution of land reform created certain preconditions for the gradual transition to higher forms of cooperation. This was reflected in the 1979 directive "Organizing Societies for the Joint Work of Peasant Producers." There existed 81 such cooperatives in Ethiopia at that time, and in 1980, after the publication of the decree there were 506, and by 1983 1,021, of which 759 were malbas and 262 were volbas. The number of members, however--60,000 people--indicates that the overwhelming portion of the peasantry refrained from this form of cooperation.

The Ministry of Agriculture was forced to limit the official registration of already existing cooperatives and the creation of new ones, explaining it as a shortage of organizer personnel, material and technical resources and a number of other causes. Thus, whereas in 1982 it permitted their quantity to double (462 new cooperatives arose), in 1983 a total of 115 cooperatives appeared.

Thus, practice has shown that the broad-scale cooperation of peasants using higher forms was still premature. The question of the future, of course, has not receded, but the Ethiopian leadership is not trying to force this process artificially.

Notwithstanding the objective difficulties, the cooperative movement continues to develop. It is enough to state that 16,845 peasant associations (out of 20,000) have voluntarily created 3,815 support cooperatives.

The indicative ten-year plan for the socio-economic development of Ethiopia for 1984/85-1993/94 envisaged that 53 percent of the rural population would be encompassed by malba- and volba-type cooperatives and that the share of the land worked by them would increase from 1 to 50 percent.

Along with the internal negative factors noted above, there also exist external ones that also restrain the development of the cooperative process in the direction chosen by the Ethiopian leadership. The countries of the West and their international credit and financial organizations that render assistance to Ethiopia are trying to stimulate just the known technical modernization with its general movement along the capitalist path. They spare no expense for various types of projects for the comprehensive assimilation of individual regions where private farms are flourishing, reared thanks to their subsidies, with time being singled out against the background of the "poor" cooperatives of a socialist type, the more visibly demonstrating their advantages, and at the same time the benefits of collaboration with the West.

The International Agricultural Development Fund (IADF), the International Development Association (IDA) and the Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA) allocated a total of 1.3 million birrs for the development of cooperatives in the 1982/1983 fiscal year. It was namely this paltry sum, of which 0.3 million were expended for the payment of Swedish experts "keeping their hand on the pulse" of the cooperative movement in Ethiopia, that the above-mentioned organizations presented to the department of peasant associations and cooperatives of the Ethiopian Ministry of Agriculture. "Capital investments," which boiled down to the procurement of office supplies, did not exceed 0.4 million birrs, and preferential loans for the acquisition of working bulls for the malba- and volba-type cooperatives were denied.

In 1984-1985, when Ethiopia was struck by a drought unprecedented in its whole history, the policies of the West with regard to the cooperative movement became even more strict. Extremely instructive in this regard is the decision of the government of Japan to curtail sharply the program for the assistance of the people of Ethiopia that were suffering from drought. The Japanese specialists ceased the drilling of wells in the refugee camps. The basis for this was the "apprehension" expressed by the White House that the wells would be used by "farms created on socialist principles."

Making use of the difficult economic position of the country, the West is trying to force the Ethiopian leadership to refrain from plans for the radical transformation of the agrarian sector.

The transformation of the subsistence farm either into a collective farm or a small-scale commodity-producing, petty-bourgeois or individual one is, in essence, the principal question of socialist orientation for agrarian Ethiopia. One should approach the experience of Russia with great caution here, as its peasant farms were already small-scale commodity-producing ones and were capitalized to a certain extent by the time of the revolution. In Ethiopia as late as 1970, some 44 percent of the GNP went for subsistence farming, non-economic methods (feudal rents) took some 75 percent of the

peasants' harvest, and the principal portion of commodity production was formed in this manner. We note in passing that for Ethiopia, as opposed to Russia, a whole revolution that is still impending is the creation of villages (mender), where the peasants that are today living in cabins (gozhdo) far removed from each other would be settled in compactly.

Essential for the successful development of the cooperative process are, on the one hand, the elimination of illiteracy, the formation of a new collectivist psychology and growth in political consciousness (tasks that the Ethiopian revolutionaries can and should resolve using primarily their own resources) and, on the other, those material and technical resources that the socialist countries can use to assist Ethiopia in the trade, for example, of agricultural commodities in short supply for them.

The principal factor that limits both an increase in production in the cooperative sector and the creation of new and higher degrees of collectivization and cooperation is the poor supply of the country's peasantry with traditional and modern draught power.

At least 20,000-30,000 modern tractors are essential for successful cooperative farming in Ethiopia. Without them the most radical land reform in Africa, with which hopes for the uplifting of the economy of the country and growth in the welfare of the people are associated, cannot in and of itself ensure the achievement of the tasks posed. That is why the tractor-assembly enterprise built near the city of Nazret and placed in operation in August of 1984 with the assistance of the Soviet Union has such important political and economic significance for Ethiopia.

As proposed by many Soviet specialists who have worked in Ethiopia at one time or another, it would be most expedient to organize the use of these tractors in such a way that they would support not only the state farms or prototypical production cooperatives, but the broad masses of the peasantry united in cooperatives of various degrees. The creation of a broad network of MTSS [machinery and tractor stations] is in turn essential for this. This policy is reflected in the "Long-Term Program of Economic and Technical Collaboration Between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and Socialist Ethiopia" adopted in September of 1984.

Questions of making the collaboration of the CEMA countries with Ethiopia more active are acquiring more and more urgency, since it is namely such collaboration that is able to neutralize the negative influence of the economic policies of the West and aid in the creation of preconditions for a restructuring of the agriculture of Ethiopia on new and non-capitalist principles.

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## THIRD WORLD ISSUES

### GHANA'S GOLD: PROBLEMS IN MANAGING OWN NATURAL RESOURCES

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian, No 12, Dec 86 pp 33-34

[Article by Yu. Savitskiy: "Who Is Enriched by Ghanaian Gold?"]

[Excerpts] "The hungry Ghanaian lies on top of wealth." I heard this expression often in Ghana. The sense of it is that the potential reserves of gold in the country are quite considerable, and it is only necessary to arrange an efficient process for extracting it.

It would seem that there is nothing particularly complex in solving this problem. After all, gold has been produced here since time immemorial. The Sahara was an obstacle difficult to traverse, however, and therefore the gold trade between this region of the continent and the states of the Mediterranean practically did not develop at all until, at the beginning of the 9th century, the Saracens reached the Niger, and in 943 their armies reached the Oden and Timbuktu. They founded their first colony in Melli, to the south of the Niger. Since that time, West African gold has begun to move regularly to the north of the continent and to Europe. It was produced chiefly in placers, as well as through the washing of the sand of river bottoms and banks.

It was gold that drew a multitude of quick-buck artists to the shores of Ghana, which the Portuguese navigators thus called the Gold Coast. In 1482 the Portuguese settled not far from the present-day city of Cape Coast and built a fortress by the name of Mina, which in translation means "mine." This fortress has been preserved into the present and is now a part of the city of Elmina. Behind the Portuguese to the Gold Coast came the Dutch, French, British and Swedes. They all built fortresses and other military facilities, as well as fortified settlements. By the 18th century there were more than fifty such places.

The conquerors competed keenly among themselves and fought almost unceasingly with the local population, trying to become firmly established on the shore. By the end of the 19th century, the British colonizers had been able to overcome numerous contests. But by that time the reserves of alluvial gold on the Ghanaian territory had already been depleted to a considerable extent. The British headed for the central regions, to the Ashanti kingdom, where the extraction and processing of gold was going better. The Ashanti resisted the new arrivals quite successfully and even inflicted defeats on the conquerors.

In the end, however, they were unable to stand up to the superior forces of the colonizers, who had modern arms and knew how to attract the leaders of the neighboring regions and their battle formations onto their side.

Today, gold production in Ghana is concentrated basically in fields located in Obuasi, Tarkwa and Bibiani, as well as in the upper reaches of the Ankobra River, where it is extracted with the aid of dredges. This does not at all mean, however, that there is not gold in other regions of the country.

In the office of the temporary management committee of the State Corporation for the Production of Gold, Alexander Kofi Barko, I saw a very curious map. There were some 200 red dots on it around Tarkwa alone that signified surveyed areas, and roughly as many gold dots, which noted points where the survey of favorable metal was considered quite promising.

"So what is going on here?" I asked Barko. "Why isn't gold production in Ghana growing?"

"Go down into the mine and see how the extraction work is conducted, and you will understand much."

The Akon Vertical Mine is located on the outskirts of Tarkwa. I went there accompanied by an instructor of the mining department of Kumasi University, Simon Frimpong. While driving to it, we had the opportunity of seeing the city. Even a passing glance was enough to understand that the capabilities of the municipal powers are extremely limited. Many houses were simply in need of paint, while the sidewalks needed repair.

But here's the mine. We went down a quite expansive drift toward one of the faces. At the face itself, we had to advance practically on all fours so as not to brush our heads against the rock vault, and people work here in this position for a whole shift, and moreover year after year. Their wages are low because production is inconsiderable. The fragments of gold-bearing ore extracted with the aid of explosives are sent out to the drift in buckets by rope where they are transloaded into cars. No less than 20 tons of such fragments are needed to obtain an ounce of gold.

I also paid attention to the fact that all of the equipment in the mine was of British manufacture and was moreover extremely outmoded.

"You've noticed one of our problems," nodded S. Frimpong. "The dependence of the Ghanaian economy on the West still affects our sector, as well as others."

This dependence was visibly demonstrated at the gold-bearing ore processing enterprise that was located next to the Akon Vertical Mine. Noel Khyudzhis, the manager of the enterprise, showed me a small metal tray. On it lay some dirty gray sand. Looking at it, I could not believe that this was gold.

"It is so plain that we cannot conclusively purify it at our enterprise," said Khyudzhis, catching my perplexed glance.

"Can it really not be possible to set up final purification here in Tarkwa?"

"The government of the first president, Kwama Nkrumah, tried to do that, but... Come, I'll show you what's left of the refining plant, the construction of which was near completion in 1966."

We went to another hill into a spacious wing of the plant. The impression was that the installation workers had unexpectedly thrown down their work and gone off somewhere. Some of the equipment was even installed, and the rest lay neatly packed in boxes. It was hard to believe that the work was underway here 20 years ago.

"We are carefully preserving the equipment," continued Khyudzhis, "since we hope to complete installation and bring the plant to operating condition notwithstanding a shortage of funds. This would be the only enterprise of its type in West Africa. It could take the orders of foreign, as well as Ghanaian, gold-producing mines. But now Ghana has to send its gold for final purification to Switzerland and spends considerable sums of money for this."

"But in final purification it is possible to extract molybdenum, silver, platinum and other impurities, including some more valuable than gold."

"Quite possibly," answered Khyudzhis. "But only those who are occupied with the final purification of our gold have the precise information on this at their disposal."

All of this is all the more vexing as Ghana already has its own research personnel who are able to develop a completely modern process for obtaining gold from enriched ore. During one of my trips to the western areas of Ghana, I stopped in at Tarkwa again and spoke with the scientific associates of the mining department of Kumasi University, a wing and laboratory of which are located not far from the Akon Vertical Mine. They told me that they had been able to create a new process for extracting gold from enriched ore, and that this method made possible extraction up to 100 percent.

"Accept my congratulations," I said with all my heart.

"Unfortunately, we cannot accept your congratulations," said one of the associates. "The point is that funds are needed, including converted foreign currency, for the incorporation of our method in commercial production. And where to get them? The government can hardly help us. There remains the Lonrho Corporation, controlled by British capital, or a rich "American uncle." They have everything needed for our new technology to be rapidly incorporated, of course. But in that case they, and not our state, would receive the lion's share of the income."

The progressive socio-economic transformations carried out in Ghana under Kwama Nkrumah aroused furious opposition in the West. Their intelligence agencies organized a reactionary coup in 1966, as a result of which Nkrumah was driven from power. The state enterprises built under him were sold to private capital or given up. The pro-Western government of Kofi Busia also decided to halt the construction of the plant in Tarkwa. In order to justify its actions in the eyes of society, it invited a specialist from one of the

Western European firms on gold purification, to whom was entrusted the preparation of a conclusion on the expediency of completing the start-up work in Tarkwa. As could have been expected, he drew a negative conclusion.

Soon after this, the next gold boom started on the world market. As the newspaper GHANAIAN TIMES reported, the firm from which the aforementioned specialist had come to Tarkwa earned 800 million dollars profit in one year alone from the purification of Ghanaian gold. Need it be said that the Western companies would rather engineer another coup d'etat than allow the completion of the construction of the refining plant in Tarkwa?

There are many firms doing all they can so that Ghanaian gold enriches them, not Ghana. First among these is the Lonrho Corporation. Formally it owns just 45 percent of the stock of the Ashanti Goldfields Company, which produces about 70 percent of Ghanaian gold. But it is not for nothing that the GHANAIAN TIMES called this company's mine in Obuasi "a state within a state." Not a single Ghanaian knows precisely how much of the gold produced by Ashanti Goldfields reaches England and how it gets there. None of them have any doubt, however, that the production of Ghanaian gold is an extremely profitable matter for Lonrho. Otherwise, how to explain the fact that in September of 1984, the general director of this corporation, Tiny Rowland, came to Ghana and proposed a loan of 120 million dollars so as to expand the production of gold in Obuasi considerably? He well knows, after all, where to invest the money--the interests of his corporation are represented not only in Ghana, but in Zambia, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Tanzania and other African states.

At the same time, Lonrho representatives in Ghana constantly assert that they are doing everything possible to develop the economy of this country and raise the welfare of its people. For the sake of justice it must be said that the feeding and medical care of the Ghanaians working at the Ashanti Goldfields is much better than for the workers of the state gold mines. But why wouldn't the company share some portion of its income? The more so as the profits obtained from the sale of Ghanaian gold make it possible to make other "pretty" gestures as well. For example, to corrupt with crumbs those few Ghanaians who are allowed into Ashanti Goldfields in engineering and technical posts. This is done so that they are a little less interested in how much gold Lonrho ships out of the country and where.

The Ghanaian State Corporation for Gold Production is in acute need of capital and equipment. The Ghanaian government can give no substantial assistance. By contrast the Ashanti Goldfields, over which looms the shadow of Lonrho, can permit itself much. It recently announced that the exploitation of a gold field in the environs of the city of Aninam (eastern region) would begin soon. The gold reserves discovered there are 15 times greater than those at the disposal of Ashanti Goldfields in all of its mines in Ghana. This fact alone is enough to understand who is continuing to become rich off Ghanaian gold.

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## THIRD WORLD ISSUES

### INFLUENCE OF CATHOLICISM IN POST-COLONIAL AFRICA DISCUSSED

[Editorial report] Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian Number 12, December 1986 carries on pages 55-57 a 2300-word article by candidate of historical sciences I. Yerasova entitled "The 'Africanization' of the Christian Church." Yerasova describes the importance of African Christianity, especially Catholicism, for the Vatican in recent years and notes the Vatican's attempts to emphasize that Christianity is not a religion only for the white race. However, the author notes, despite the growing number of black Africans in the church hierarchy, both in Rome and in Africa, "two-thirds of the clergy is composed of white missionaries." In addition, according to Yerasova, the Vatican is afraid that "Africanization" of the Catholic Church may lead to "local Catholics breaking with Rome and therefore they [Vatican leaders] are trying to limit it [Africanization]." The author notes the appearance of a new trend of religious thought which she labels "African theology" and describes its "social-political" basis. In summing up, Yerasova notes the existence in Africa of a large messianic movement which, though adopting some of the dogma and attributes of the Church, nevertheless emphasizes its independence from official organized religion. She states: "This phenomenon, far from unanimous both in the political and in the cultural plane, deserves special discussion."

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### THIRD WORLD ISSUES

#### BOOK ON EXPENSE OF ARMS RACE FOR DEVELOPING STATES REVIEWED

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 12, Dec 86 pp 59-60

[Review "The Heavy Cost of Militarization" by Doctor of Historical Sciences Ya. Etinger of book by Yu.N. Alekseyev "Razvivayushchiyesya strany: voyenniye raskhody, razoruzheniye i razvitiye" [The Developing Countries: Military Expenditures, Disarmament and Development].--Moscow, Chief Eastern Literature Editorial Board of Nauka Publishing House, 1986, 224 pp]

[Text] The growth of the military potential of the states of Asia, Africa and Latin America and their involvement in the arms race is an alarming reality of the present-day political situation.

On the basis of extensive statistical material, the book considers the principal directions of the military and military-economic activity of the developing countries, the process of constructing armed forces, the dynamics of their military budgets, their procurements of arms abroad and their expansion of the production of licensed and their own military equipment.

The book analyzes the socio-economic consequences of the arms race for the developing countries. Their rapid expansion of military potential has a destabilizing influence on the political situation in Asia, Africa and Latin America, creates a danger of new conflicts arising and leads to growth in military-economic activity and militarism in certain states. Yu. Alekseyev emphasizes that the arms race violates the normal political and economic links between young states, hinders the eradication of the policy of force and dictate from international life and the elimination of various forms of discrimination and artificial barriers in international collaboration and trade and slows the development of the liberated states, as well as preventing the establishment of a new world economic order. From an economic point of view, the arms race is an unproductive expenditure of resources and the constant withdrawal of funds from the civilian sphere essential for the formation of the national economy. The author researches in detail the effect of military expenditures on the rate of economic growth, the volume and pattern of capital investments and the utilization of labor resources, as well as on the development of the social sphere.

The book emphasizes that the funds directed toward military purposes are a real and unusable reserve for the modernization and expansion of leading and

new sectors of the economy and for a more decisive offensive against hunger and poverty. In many liberated countries, disarmament measures would diminish the financial difficulties associated with the realization of national plans of development.

A large portion of the book is given over to the struggle of the liberated countries for peace, security and disarmament. The author considers such issues as nuclear disarmament, the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, the creation of nuclear-free and peace zones, the reduction of conventional types of arms, the settlement of conflicts by peaceful means, the connection of disarmament and development and several others.

Not only these problems, but also the specific nature of an approach to it for the liberated countries, are analyzed. Noted in particular are their strengthening conviction that a halt to the arms race and disarmament, which would allow not only the avoidance of a nuclear catastrophe, but the switching of resources from military purposes to the needs of socio-economic development, a persistent necessity of our time. At the same time, Yu. Alekseyev emphasizes, it would be unrealistic at this stage to expect full unity of opinion among the young states on such a complex issue as the struggle to end the arms races and disarm, since they adhere to differing paths of socio-economic development, and their foreign-policy orientations and ideological systems are not identical. The author, however, expresses the conviction that no competitive-market contradictions and interests can push the common purpose of mankind into the background--to preserve peace and ensure the safe and peaceful development of peoples.

Yu. Alekseyev's book substantially expands our representations of the complex and contradictory processes that are occurring in the developing world.

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## THIRD WORLD ISSUES

### BOOK ON POLITICAL SITUATION IN TURKEY REVIEWED

MOSCOW AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 12, Dec 86 pp 60, 64

[Review "The Political Struggle in Turkey" by Doctor of Historical Sciences A. Shamsutdinov of book by V.I. Danilov "Politicheskaya borba v Turtsii. 50-ye--nachalo 80-kh godov XX v. (politicheskiye partii i armiya)" [The Political Struggle in Turkey. The 1950s to the Beginning of the 1980s (Political Parties and the Army)].--Moscow, Chief Eastern Literature Editorial Board of the Nauka Publishing House, 1985, 324 pp]

[Text] The Turkish experience is one variation of the establishment and development of a political system in countries that have been liberated from the colonial yoke or semi-colonial dependence and have entered a capitalist path of development. This country's experience, however, is of particular interest, since Kemalist Turkey began to incorporate a system of bourgeois political institutions as early as the 1920s. Over the decades that have passed, the transition from a one-party system under the Ataturk to a bourgeois and politically pluralistic multi-party system has been completed, which after the Second World War has operated under conditions of a sharpening of the contradictions between modern and traditional, the consolidation of the Turkish working class and the growth of its struggle against the bourgeoisie within the framework of the modern sector. Against this background, a sharp political activization of the army, which periodically intervenes in the political struggle and sometimes determines its direction, is observed.

Danilov develops this theme in two directions. One is political parties. The author shows that the acute economic problems and high degree of social tension has been reflected in the political sphere and has permeated the party struggle. Including a wide range of sources and reviewing and comparing the research of Turkish and other foreign authors, Danilov conducts a careful analysis of the class essence, program directives, practical activity and interaction of the principal political groupings that made up the Turkish multi-party system in the 1950s-1970s.

A study of the leftist parties legally operating in the 1960s and 1970s allows the author to trace and demonstrate the complexity of the ideological struggle in the country's democratic circles and efforts to express the interests of the proletariat and the petty bourgeoisie within the framework of the multi-party system. The book also considers the struggle of groupings within the

ruling class and its reflection in the activity of the bourgeois parties. The author concludes that the confrontation among the bourgeois parties developed on two planes: on one, groupings of the bourgeoisie striving primarily for the satisfaction of their own specific interests clashed, as did groupings occupied with searching out the best paths for capitalist development in the country on the other. The second "plane" acquired ever greater significance (pp 238-239) therein to the extent of the politization of the proletariat and the other working segments and the development of the leftist movement. Danilov singles out and studies several variants for strengthening the regime proposed by the leading bourgeois parties. Attention is devoted in particular to the views of the elder bourgeois Peoples' Republican Party, which is the bearer of interesting experience in cultivating the theory and practice of European social democracy on the soil of the developing society of the Orient.

The second area of research is the political activeness of the army. The book traces and explains the sources of the political activization of the officer corps in the middle of the 1940s and its later development. The author compares three political acts of the Turkish Army: the coup d'etat of 1960, the memorandum of the military command in 1971 and the military coup of 1980, as well as the forms and methods of their implementation and their socio-political content. The work demonstrates the political heterogeneity of the officer corps and uncovers the social essence, goals and transformation of the two principal political trends among the officers--radical and conservative.

The radicals tried to establish a long-term military dictatorship largely to implement socio-economic transformations in the interests of the petty bourgeois. They were excluded from the political game by the combined efforts of Turkish reaction and its Western friends, who feared a repetition in Turkey of 1952 in Egypt. In describing the radicals, V. Danilov stresses that a military dictatorship can, in the interests of the workers, turn out to be more democratic than democracy in the interests of the bourgeoisie (p 43).

As for the conservative trend, it was personified largely by the generals as part of the Turkish ruling elite. The book traces the change in conservative positions with regard to the fates of Turkish democracy. Whereas after the coup in 1960 the conservatives were for a substantial expansion of the bourgeois liberties permitted in the country, after each of the two subsequent interventions into political life it took a diametrically opposed position--a considerable reduction in these liberties.

The merit of the book is that both of the indicated directions of research that reflect Turkish reality are closely linked with each other.

This book makes a useful contribution to understanding the general laws and specific features of the functioning of the political system in the developing countries and creates a basis for the study and forecast of socio-economic processes in modern Turkey.

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GENERAL ECONOMIC AFFAIRS

MOSCOW TRADE CENTER EXPANDING, NEW CENTER FOR TBILISI

Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 21 Mar 87 p 1

[Article under the rubric "At the Last Minute": "Under the Sign of Mercury"]

[Text] It has been decided to expand the Moscow Center of International Trade and Scientific and Technical Ties with Foreign Countries. F. K Kryuchko, the center's general director, discusses this at our request.

"Our center opened in Moscow in 1980 and immediately became a place of pilgrimage for businessmen from many countries of the world. All the conditions for business people to work and live have been created in the complex of buildings located on Krasnaya Presna on the bank of the Moscow River. Families of representatives from dozens of countries live in the apartment-like hotel. The convention center has at its disposal spacious work areas, three well-equipped halls with a seating capacity of 2500, and areas for negotiations.

"When our complex was under construction, the architects were convinced that its facilities would satisfy the needs of foreign trade organizations for 10 years at a minimum. However, life has made corrections necessary--mutually advantageous cooperation with foreign firms and companies is continuously expanding, and today we are already crowded in our old buildings. Therefore, it has been decided to allot additional space to the center.

"Foreign companies will be drawn into the construction. As a matter of fact, I want to dispell one myth current in the capital. Among themselves Muscovites call our center the 'Hammer Center.' The fact is that Occidental Petroleum, headed by Dr. Armand Hammer, participated in the center's construction exclusively as an intermediary. The building itself was erected by Soviet construction workers.

"In 2 years our center will have a younger brother--it has been decided to build an international trade center in Tbilisi."

CSO:1825/143-P

UNITED STATES AND CANADA

U.S. SENATOR DISCUSSES BUSINESS COOPERATION IN MOSCOW

LD041611 Moscow TASS in English 1533 GMT 4 Mar 87

[Text] Moscow 4 March TASS--Trade is a way of building trust and trust paves the way to the lessening of tension between the USSR and the United States, U.S. Senator David Pryor (Arkansas) told TASS today. The senator is leading a delegation of businessmen from his state to the USSR to discuss with Soviet organizations broader cooperation in the economy and other fields.

The delegation includes 11 leading businessmen involved in the agri-industry. It is their first visit to the USSR. David Pryor said that among issues of interest to the American businessmen were opportunities for joint ventures in Soviet territory.

Business cooperation between Soviet organizations and Arkansas companies has so far been confined to grain sales to the USSR and the sale of Soviet-Made farm technology to that state. Prospects for broadening business cooperation were discussed in talks at the Ministry of Foreign Trade and the state Agri-Industry Committee of the USSR.

The American senator said that if the talks in the USSR were a success, the Arkansas businessmen would suggest that other states of the United States follow their example and send delegations to the Soviet Union.

/12232

CSO: 1812/112

UNITED STATES AND CANADA

U.S. EXPORT CONTROLS TO BLAME FOR TRADE DEFICIT

PM051405 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 26 Feb 87 p 3

[TASS report: "Contrary to Common Sense"]

[Text] New York, 25 February--Running counter to common sense, the Reagan administration's attempts to use controls on the export of U.S. output to achieve its foreign policy aims damage primarily [at] the United States itself. THE WALL STREET JOURNAL, the organ of U.S. business circles, made this admission Tuesday.

"An increasing number of representatives of business circles and some administration officials," the newspaper writes, "are expressing concern that Washington's fanaticism in defending the country's technological secrets is leading to a U.S. lag in international trade." As proof it cites information from the congressional Joint Economic Committee: In 1986, for the first time in its history, the United States had a foreign trade deficit in high technology output. It totaled 2.6 billion dollars. It is noteworthy that before the Reagan administration came to power in 1980 exports exceeded imports in this sphere by 27 billion dollars. In the committee's opinion, the foreign trade deficit is a result of U.S. policy in the sphere of export controls and other "distorted foreign trade practices."

The newspaper describes the efforts of "Pentagon hardliners" to prevent the delivery of a very modern computer to India as the latest example of Washington's unconstructive approach to foreign trade prompted by a desire to impede socialist countries' participation in international economic ties. These officials headed by Assistant Defense Secretary Richard Perle, THE WALL STREET JOURNAL notes, consider that an expansion of trade with India will increase the risk that U.S. technological secrets will supposedly fall... into the Soviet Union's hands. As a result of this policy, THE WALL STREET JOURNAL stresses, "chaos reigns in U.S. foreign trade."

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CSO: 1825/131

## UNITED STATES AND CANADA

### U.S. EXPORT CONTROL LAWS REVISED

LD042311 Moscow in English to North America 2300 GMT 1 Mar 87

[Text] Recently Secretary of Commerce Malcolm Baldrige announced the American decision to lift the ban on exports of oil and gas drilling equipment to the Soviet Union. The United States business community hailed the decision, which also prompted it to examine again the obstacles still impending [as heard] U.S.-Soviet trade relations. We have this story.

As they say, better late than never. However, in that case it is late since the Soviet Union has produced the necessary equipment itself. While the U.S. policy of sanctions, boycotts and embargos has done the USSR no particular harm, the United States has definitely lost out. Here is (?Ron Shultz) of (?Dye Proof Incorporated):

[Begin (?Schultz) recording] The technology that the United States has isn't unique. No one in the world has a licence on it. I, for example, visited Nizhnekamsk, the very large rubber plant. We were talking about their problems relative to computer (?training) and I found that the technicians even in this rubber plant were capable of building circuitry to operate the computer and this proves beyond the shadow of a doubt that we, (?or you), can design anything you choose to do once you decide to do it. When the United States stopped selling computers then they stopped knowing where the computers are going. The Soviets then have to make a decision: make or buy. If they cannot buy it they will have to make it if they need it. So now we have lost out in two ways. We have lost out to the foreign firms, those outside the United States, who provide exactly the same things the United States can provide, and to the Soviet ingenuity in their designs. [end recording]

As a matter of fact the United States has always looked upon trade with the Soviet Union as a sort of a gift to this country, along the lines of the Marshall Plan. Hence the self-delusion that the cutting of trade with the Soviet Union may have some impact on Soviet policies and even on Soviet society itself. As a result U.S.-Soviet trade slipped over the years from a total value of \$2.5 billion in 1976 to \$1.5 billion last year. Here is (?Margaret Chapman), the director of the U.S.-USSR trade program for the American Committee on U.S.-Soviet relations in Washington D.C.

[Begin (?Chapman) recording] There are people in our government who feel that the sanctions and embargos have had an effect. The people I have talked to,

especially since I've been here, for instance, tell me that it's not true, that it had only encouraged them to develop and use their initiative and develop their own products or services or technology or whatever. But if they can't get certain items or certain technologies or products then they develop their own here, which closes the market then for our country. And obviously, it is evident that they could get grain any place else in the world and our farmers suffered because of that. I can say in my own view of sanctions, they are counterproductive. I don't know of any sanctions or any, anywhere in the world that historically--there have been studies done on this, our own Department of State, in which they, over a period of 200 years--we've never really gained a great deal from sanctions unless one wants to say well, you made a statement, well then you made a statement. [sentence as heard] But it's often shooting yourself in the foot. [end recording]

While U.S. officials declare that they would like to have more trade with the Soviet Union, American legislation either restricts or prohibits an expansion of trade between the two countries. In 1951, at the height of the Cold War, the United States withdrew most favored nation status from the Soviet Union. As a result this country lost the standard trading rights granted by the United States to the vast majority of its trade partners. The lack of most favored nation treatment barred Soviet goods from the American market, since customs duties on Soviet imports greatly increased. There are 20-30 percent average duties on Soviet goods, while duties on imports from countries enjoying most favored nation treatment are not more than 5 percent. Here is William Verity Jr, chairman of the Executive Committee of Armco Incorporated.

[Begin Verity recording] It's true that the tariff or the duties for Soviet products in the American market is higher than they are on other European countries. In 1972 a trade agreement was made in which one of the purposes was to grant most favored nation [status] to the Soviet union. I believe that still is a possibility and I believe it should be done. And when that is done that would eliminate any disparity between Soviet products coming in and French or British or German. So that again is a political climate problem and perhaps one of these days we'll find that breakthrough that will break us out of this rut that we're in of putting up barriers to trade. The Soviets do not market very well some of their products in the United States because of tariff restrictions. The Soviets are not granted most favored nation, which is important to improving our trade. [end recording]

The lack of most favored nation is also the reason why there is an imbalance in U.S.-Soviet trade as Soviet imports from the United States exceed Soviet exports to the United States. Here is (?Margaret Chapman) once again;

[Begin (?Chapman) recording] So long as MFN is denied the Soviet Union and so long as the climate between the two countries is maybe not perfect for trade, then there is a problem of why you couldn't gear up for this kind of export to the United States without some assurances that it would be worth your while. So there are some problems and I personally will continue to work in Washington and in my work on improving the situation regarding MFN.

I think it's important, psychologically more so than economically, that at a time when your exports to our country are not as great as our exports to your country, it's not crucial economically in that, as you know, MFN means the tariff is higher on your goods. So if you're not shipping very many goods then it's--especially ones that come under this tariff--then it's not a significant point economically. But politically or psychologically, however one wants to say it, it is important to you that you be treated in a way that our other trading partners are treated. So that politically I think it's a significant barrier or problem in U.S.-Soviet trade relations that you do not have MFN, which really as you know doesn't mean a special treatment, it means a normal treatment, a nondiscriminatory, normal treatment, the kind of trading relations that we have with other nations.

The lack of MFN is more significant politically than it is economically, that of course they want normal treatment but it just simply is not such an economic factor at this time. Anything that you want to buy or sell, the way the world marketplace works today, you can accomplish without the United States, you don't need us particularly for very many things. [end recording]

Raw materials continue to be the Soviet Union's staple export to the United States because of the denial of MFN. Industrial products are for this reason simply not competitive in the American market. Doesn't the Soviet Union have any high technology to offer the United States? Here is (?Robert Schmidt) of Control Data:

[Begin (?Schmidt) recording] I think that the limited number of American businessmen who know about Soviet technology, they are very impressed and that they find it very useful technology. I do not believe that that has widespread acceptance in the United States yet. The amount of technology being transferred from the Soviet Union to the United States by Control Data alone is several millions of dollars. There are other technologies that have been imported by other companies into the United States and I don't know what the total value of those might be, but the total program of technological exchange or sale could run into many hundreds of millions of dollars. [end recording]

American business people believe that Soviet-American trade now faces better prospects in part because of the new Soviet foreign trade policy. Elaborating on the subject of Soviet exports of primary materials to the United States, Martin Kallen of Monsanto said this:

[Begin Kallen recording] (?Curiously) raw material production involves a lot of high technology in most cases. If I were to take grain as a commodity, which I believe we all consider it is, there is an enormous amount of high technology that gets involved in the production and transportation and what have you of grain. The same goes for oil exploration, (?et cetera), natural gas. So I think we blind ourselves a little bit about high technology when we speak about a rather small number of products which indeed have a different content. High technology plays a role in every industry today and indeed the old industries--be it steel making, be it textiles, be it shipbuilding--all have a need for a lot of high technology inputs. I first want to change that perception. So I am not concerned about the fact that one exports a lot of commodities.

The United States used to be one of the largest exporters of agricultural commodities. In our parlance, as we talk (?to you), that's a low technology issue; it isn't--it's high technology. So we need to set that aside. I think the issue that will present itself is: in a competitive world will the Soviet Union be able to develop market niches in which it has unique strength, make those things where it has a unique ability to add value and gets a share of the market. That is the issue that we will need to look at: what can be done in the USSR which makes it cost-competitive in the international marketplace, and we need to search for those opportunities.

I think the first issue here is to improve what you already have, utilize the assets that are in place better than they used to be used. I think that is one of the issues that Mr Gorbachev is very narrowly pointing at and saying: We've got these factories, we should get 50 percent more out of them than we do, now how do we go about that? A piece of that is high technology, a piece of it is motivation, training, accountability, and I think one of the issues that perhaps will emerge as most important is the ability to bring to the Soviet system this managerial capability, the motivational capability, the training capability, how do you develop accountability.

I think that's going to be of great value to the USSR, probably of greater value than an immediate ability to export some products and make some hard currency. That's not yet come in the open but I believe as time progresses we'll see that emerge as a very important element of the new activity that Mr Gorbachev is trying to put in place. [end recording]

In this program we've brought you opinions of American business people on problems of U.S.-Soviet trade relations.

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CSO: 181J/120

UNITED STATES AND CANADA

REAGAN'S 1984 DIRECTIVE ON CONCENTRATION CAMPS NOTED

Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 25 Dec 86 p 3

[Article by Vadim Biryukov under the "Commentator's Opinion" rubric: "Human Rights According to Washington"]

[Text] In documents presented the other day in the Miami district court, the Washington lawyer (Daniel Shikhen) claimed that on 6 April 1984 President Reagan signed secret directive number 52, a detailed plan to create networks of concentration camps in the United States. They may be needed, the lawyer declared, in order to isolate dissidents if Washington undertakes a "military operation" in Central America.

White House representative Larry Speakes hastily refuted this information. However, he was forced to acknowledge that the federal agency for managing the country under crisis situations has plans at its disposal for those cases in which, when in a crisis period such as, for example, the war in Vietnam, a need arises to accommodate a "flow of refugees" somewhere.

The American newspaper SPOTLIGHT, published by the "Liberty Lobby," was the first to report in June 1984 on the Reagan administration's intentions to create a place within the U.S. for imprisoning "undesirable elements." It is possible to understand ruffians from this ultra-right organization who have explained, with unconcealed pleasure, the appearance of a directive with the code name "Rex-84", which essentially signifies a new mass campaign to persecute dissidents in the United States. However, mass terror, which the White House intends to unleash against Americans, is targeted towards protesters of the Reagan administration's political course and, as if this were during the Vietnam War, towards activists in the anti-war movement who disagree with Washington's dangerous militaristic policy.

Don Edwards, a member of the House of Representatives of the U.S. Congress, had at that time already acknowledged that the "Rex-84" directive could lead to serious constitutional problems. In the United States, they love to discuss human rights and democracy, yet at the same time create concentration camps in a Hitlerite manner. This, in fact, is how "political freedoms" are in the United States.

Even before this, a system of violence has formed the backbone of American bourgeois government. However, never before has the machine for repressing dissidents in the U.S. operated as actively and on such a scale as it has in recent years--ever since the Republican administration came to power.

UNITED STATES AND CANADA

U.S. AUTHORITIES CENSURED FOR HARBORING 'HANGMAN'

AU261423 Kiev RADYANSKA UKRAINA in Ukrainian 22 Feb 87 p 2]

[I. Monichev article received from NOVOSTI: "Secrets Become Manifest--They Harbor a Hangman"]

[Excerpts] This man is so confident in his security that he does not even intend to hide. In the New York telephone directory he appears under his own name: Mykola Lebid. Meanwhile, all over Eastern Europe he is known as a Nazi hanger-on, a hangman who killed tens of thousands of people--either with his own hands, or by having ordered his subordinate scum to kill. He has on his conscience the lives of the Poles and the Russians, of the Ukrainians and the Jews, of ordinary peasants and the best sons of the intelligentsia, of the communists and non-party members.

In the past, Mykola Lebid was one of the leaders of the notorious Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN). He was the righthand man of the Ukrainian Quisling, the "Fuehrer" Bandera, and the chief of the secret Banderite police, the "Security Service." Do those who have harbored him know about Lebid's criminal past? Do the American authorities know that in the New York district of Yonkers there lives a Nazi war criminal? Yes, they know everything.

The Soviet Union has repeatedly requested the United States to extradite Lebid for trial and for sentencing. In reply, the American side either kept silent, or resorted to juridical subterfuges to hinder the extradition of the criminal.

For obvious reasons, Lebid was terrified that he would be caught and handed over to the Soviet or Polish authorities. However, contrary to the Yalta accords regarding the mutual extradition of war criminals, the CIA saved Lebid, as well as many other Nazis, from the punishment he deserved. Late in 1949, the CIA illegally got Lebid across to the United States, having concealed his past from the immigration authorities. In 1957, American special services helped Lebid become a citizen of the United States. All that was contrary to U.S. law, which prohibits entry of persons guilty of persecuting other people for racial, religious, national or political reasons. But in the United States the law has not been written for everyone. The criminal's sponsors took him under their protection, having invoked Paragraph 8 of the 1949 law establishing the CIA. The law authorizes the CIA to bring illegally to the United States each year up to 100 persons, irrespective of their past, in the "interests of national security...."

In this way the hangman of the Russian, Polish, Jewish, and Ukrainian peoples was given the opportunity to live and prosper in the United States. As the director of Prologue Publishing House, which at CIA expense issued publications to be smuggled into the socialist countries, until 1980 he was engaged in anti-communist activity, in subversive propaganda against the socialist countries.

Mykola Lebid is now a pensioner and is busy preparing his memoirs. Does the hangman intend to tell the world of his bloody crimes? Not at all. Like all people like him, he will lie, fox, and whitewash his conscience in the hope that the witnesses of his crimes are already practically nonexistent.

His hope is vain! Mankind remembers the bitter lessons of the war perfectly well. And for hangmen there is no statute of limitations.

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CSO: 1811/42

## WESTERN EUROPE

### COMMENTARY ON BUNDESTAG ELECTION RESULTS

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Jan 87 p 5

[Article by Yuliy Yakhontov under the "Commentator's Column" rubric: "It is Time to Draw Conclusions"]

[Text] The Bundestag elections were held on Sunday in the FRG. The right-wing liberal coalition remained in power. At the same time, the elections changed the situation both within the ruling coalition itself and within the opposition parties as well.

The CDU/CSU bloc suffered a heavy defeat. It lost 2 million voters, which comprises 4.5 percent of the overall number of those who voted. In this connection, the lowest number of voters in the last 38 years voted for the CDU. This was the voters' response to the pre-election statements of CDU/CSU leaders, who demanded that the achievements of detente in Europe be revised and that Washington's course be still more actively followed.

The Social Democrats (SPD) gained the support of 37 percent of the voters, which is 1.2 percent less than in 1983.

The best results were achieved by the Free Democratic Party (FDP), which is entering the ruling coalition, and the "Green" Party, which ran in opposition. The FDP collected 9.1 percent of the votes, which is 2.1 percent more than in 1983. The "Greens," who barely crossed over the five-percent barrier in the last elections, have now received 8.3 percent.

Thus, the arrangement of forces in the Bundestag will henceforth look as follows: the CDU/CSU bloc will receive 223 seats (-21) and the FDP--46 seats (+12). Out of the 228 mandates which fall into the opposition's share, 186 will belong to the SPD and 42 to the "Greens."

Although the right-wing conservative bloc, evidently, again heads the ruling coalition, one would not call this a victory. The fact that 2 million voters refused to support the CDU/CSU quite clearly indicates that the policy advanced by the conservatives 4 years ago is encountering growing dissatisfaction. This pertains both to the domestic policy course of the government, which has led to mass unemployment and continuing attacks on the rights and living standard of workers, and also to the behavior of official

Bonn in international affairs. The voters' "No" was cast essentially in the matter of continuing the arms race, the placement of first-strike missiles on FRG soil, the militarization of space and the encouragement of revanchist tendencies.

The elections indicate that over recent years the number of people who favor detente and continuity of the foreign policy started by the Social Democrats in their time jointly with the FDP, has noticeably increased. Voters preferred parties which favored cooperation and good-neighbor relations, not the intensification of confrontation. The large increase of representatives for the "Greens" party in the Bundestag was a particularly bright testimony to this tendency.

Agents of the right-wing conservative bloc promised to study the election results closely and make the necessary conclusions. That is why elections exist; so that, according to the results, politicians can adjust their domestic and foreign course.

13362

CSO: 1807/151

WESTERN EUROPE

SWEDISH-SOVIET TV DISCUSSION AT DEFENSE OF PEACE COMMITTEE

LD122349 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1445 GMT 12 Mar 87

["Soviet-Swedish Discussion" program, presented by Yu. Rostov, held at the Soviet Committee for the Defense of Peace: date not specified; with Swedish parliamentarians, represented by Ingemund Bengtsson, speaker of the Riksdag, A.C. Haglund, member of the leadership of the Moderate Unity Party, L. Werner, chairman of the Swedish Left Party (Communists) and K. Bu, representative of the Center Party; and USSR Supreme Soviet deputies and other officials, represented by Genrikh Borovik, a writer and discussion program chairman, Aleksandr Yakovlevich Sukharev, RSFSR minister of justice, Konstantin Vladimirovich Enchayev Pitirim, metropolitan of Volokolamsk and Yuryevsk, Mikhail Danilovich Yakovlev, professor at the Diplomatic Academy of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and Valentin Grigoriyevich Sokolovskiy, deputy chairman of the State Committee for Hydrometeorology and Environmental Control; all participants identified by screen captions; Swedish participants speaking in Swedish with superimposed Russian translation; video shows participants seated round a rectangular table--recorded]

[Excerpts] [Rostov] This meeting took place in the Soviet Committee for the Defense of Peace. A delegation of Swedish parliamentarians, headed by Ingemund Bengtsson, speaker of the Riksdag, as well as the USSR Supreme Soviet deputies and Soviet public representatives took part in it.

[Haglund] Freedom and human rights are a condition of peace, and according to the UN charter, violations against these rights do not represent an internal matter of this or that state. Therefore, I wish to raise the situation concerning Soviet citizens. Approximately 400,000 Soviet citizens have expressed the wish to leave for and take up permanent residence in Israel, and some 11,000 people have had their repeated applications to leave turned down. Several thousand people have been waiting several years for such permission; 120 families have been waiting for more than 10 years. That is why I want to ask the question: When will the laws be changed so that the USSR's Jews are permitted to live freely, without discrimination; so that they can practice their religion, teach their language; when will those prisoners of conscience of Jewish origin be released; when will such citizens of the USSR have a free right to leave the country?

[Borovik] Over to Aleksandr Yakovlevich Sukharev, RSFSR minister of justice.

[Sukharev] For us, for the USSR, naturally just as for you, the questions of the rights and freedoms of the Soviet people and the departures and arrivals that pertain to them, this also represents one of what are, perhaps, the most basic rights of man.

We have a constitution which governs these questions; the union republics also have their constitutions; there are laws of citizenship; there are the decisions of government bodies, issued by way of supplementing the fundamental laws of our country. That is to say, I want to say that we have an entire system of legislation in existence and, naturally, a system of guarantees which makes it possible to implement this law.

We were one of the first countries to ratify the treaties on civil and political rights. You know that certain Western countries have so far failed to do this. We were one of the initiators of the Helsinki Final Act and of the Helsinki process, where, incidentally, these questions are reflected--in the Helsinki documents.

The Soviet Government has issued a document in which it has considerably eased the possibilities for contacts, apart from the provisions in existence in our country, provisions which we consider as being fully in accordance with international treaties and obligations we have undertaken as far as the Helsinki Final Act is concerned. We are, so to speak, ready to continue to examine various aspects of further expansion of humanitarian contacts. This is one side of the matter.

The second side is this: I would like to say that in our country, over, let us say the last 15 years, 260,000 citizens of Jewish nationality have left for Israel, the United States, some other countries. When such astronomical figures as 400,000 are mentioned, this gives rise to surprise on our part, it gives rise to surprise. The point at issue revolves round several hundred people who, in accordance with our laws, have, for the time being--and I emphasize this, for the time being--not been permitted to leave. What impediments stand in the way of their leaving?

The first obstacle is this: If the person is connected with state secrets. The second one: If the person has obligations toward his children, relatives, sick, old parents; and also if he has committed a crime and is obliged, according to our national laws, to undergo punishment.

[Borovik] Since the issue of religion was also touched upon in the questions that have been raised, I would ask Konstantin Vladimirovich Nechayev Pitirim, the metropolitan for Volokolamsk and Yuryevsk to reply to this question.

[Pitirim] Thank you for the opportunity offered to me. I regret that Shayevich, representative of Judean religion and Moscow Choral Synagogue Rabbi, is not among us. We have fairly frequent meetings with him during our religious and public events. I would like to say that the position of the Judean religion does not differ to any extent from the situation of any other religious organizations in our country. Naturally, the Russian Orthodox Church is the most numerous. Historically, traditionally, the situation has evolved that we live in Russia, not anywhere else. The religious order of Islam are numerically very strong.

[Haglund] I would like to return to a problem we have already discussed, namely the right of every person to leave his country, and then to return to it. All of us present here have signed agreements on this, and I would like to return to the fact that people of Jewish extraction still wait for years for permission to leave their country. Even if they have knowledge of secrets, I think that in that case the secrets are already obsolete. And, as I understand, they do not even have the right to complain about refusal to their application to emigrate. We are, of course, pleased when people have been granted permission to emigrate, and when people are released from prison. But nonetheless, we think that these figures are too low.

[Sukharev] I would like to say a few words to Ms Haglund, since she has again raised the issue of the Jews. You know of the processes now under way in our country. You understand that we have people who want to follow the stream of acceleration, of democratization of our life. But there are also bureaucrats--there always have been, and there still are--who still do not carry out their work the way we would like them to. Are there cases of hitches? Yes, some. So we investigate and mete out punishment for those cases. You say there is nowhere we can go to complain. That is quite incorrect. We have the government, the Supreme Soviet, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet; we have supervision by the Procuracy, which is constitutional supervision. Particularly these days, you understand, whatever else we may lack, when it comes to complaining I can confidently assure you that in Sweden there are fewer echelons at which complaints may be made than in our country.

In our country a person in a place of deprivation of liberty will write a hundred times--and this doesn't happen in Sweden, and I think it's right that it doesn't--and his case will be reviewed 100 times, and people will go out to see 100 times, you understand, and reply and write to him 100 times, although they've written 99 times already. I simply want you to understand us, as it were. I say this to you sincerely.

I was in the United States. When they heard I was there, tens of people of Jewish nationality who had left our country came to meet me. They want to go to the USSR. In the evening I went to see where they lived. In the United States, gentlemen, it's a nightmare: unemployed, in hovels. I say this to you without any propaganda, as it were. Some of my U.S. colleagues say to me: Mr Sukharev, you have to let them in now; what's going on? This is a breach of human rights. I reply: Of course, the process has already begun, but you gentlemen must decide for yourselves: What are we to do? You criticize us for not letting them out, and now you criticize us for not letting them in? This is a fact which is now becoming generally known throughout the world. That's the problem.

[Werner] To my disappointment I learned a few hours ago that you have resumed nuclear testing. Of course, I perfectly well understand that the brunt of the criticism here should be directed at the United States. But nevertheless, my question is this: From the standpoint of scientific research and from the military standpoint, was it really essential for you to resume testing?

My second question: The establishment of a nuclear-free zone in the North. You know that our country and our Riksdag have unanimously adopted a proposal

that the government should work toward this. My question is this: When this question is discussed, the eminent leaders of the USSR sometimes make statements saying that there is readiness on the Soviet side to discuss the presence of nuclear weapons in the area adjoining the north [as heard]. Can anything specific be said about the measures meant by this? What measures could the USSR undertake in this case?

Is it possible--my third question--that you would be prepared to immediately remove all ships and submarines carrying nuclear weapons from the Baltic?

[Borovik] As to your second question, I will hand over to Comrade Mikhail Danilovich Yakovlev, professor at the Diplomatic Academy of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

[Yakovlev] Mr Werner well knows the USSR's position with regard to the matter of establishing a nuclear-free zone. This is a question of great, vital importance, not only to Sweden and other northern countries, but also to the USSR. The USSR energetically supports the proposal to establish a nuclear-free North.

To supplement and develop its position, the USSR, as you know, has undertaken tangible new steps. First: We have already dismantled the launchers for medium-range missiles on the Kola Peninsula, and most of the launchers for such missiles in the rest of the Leningrad and Baltic military districts. And we have redeployed from these military districts several batteries [Diviziony] of operational-tactical missiles. In this way the previously-stated readiness of the USSR to consider the question of certain substantive measures concerning its own territory adjoining the future nuclear-free northern zone has received confirmation.

Secondly: The Soviet side supports the idea of giving nuclear-free status to the Baltic Sea. If accord should be achieved between the states concerned, we could withdraw submarines fitted with ballistic missiles [as heard] from the Soviet Baltic Fleet.

Third: The USSR supports the idea of possible confidence-building measures concerning Northern Europe, and proposes that a start be made on restricting the intensity of major military exercises in this region.

[BU] The peaceful use of nuclear power is now being discussed throughout the world. Even if it is said that security is guaranteed, a major accident occurred in the United States, and recently in the USSR. We know the terrible consequences of those accidents. We have 12 reactors operating in the country, and have adopted a decision to close down all our reactors by the year 2010. Since other reactors operate in other countries--including the USSR--at a short distance from our country, we discussed this issue, and said that here it is necessary to take account of the interests of other countries. That is why I wanted to ask whether the USSR is prepared to close down, for instance, the reactors working a short distance from Swedish territory.

[Borovik] I will hand over to Valentin Grigoriyevich Sokolovskiy, deputy chairman of the State Committee for hydrometeorology and Environmental Control.

[Sokolovskiy] You are all well aware that the Chernobyl disaster provided a new stimulus for us to take a new look at, as it were, at the development of power engineering as a whole, including nuclear power engineering. Our scientists, that is, the USSR Academy of Sciences, the corresponding ministries and departments, and the institutes they have at their disposal, conducted a study, and are continuing to conduct such a study. Generally speaking, all our efforts are directed toward establishing safety for the development of nuclear power, not the renunciation of nuclear power, but the development of work related to ensuring safety--not just the efforts of our country, but also those of other countries.

Perhaps I should also say that, as you probably know, in our country and in other countries, work is in progress to produce clean thermonuclear reactions, that is synthesis, and not chain reactions. This would create the prerequisites for a transfer to a new type of power engineering, which would be perfectly clean and safe.

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CSO: 1807/203

## EASTERN EUROPE

### HUNGARY-USSR SIGN 1987 TRADE PROTOCOL

Moscow EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA in Russian No 2, Jan 87 p 21

[Unattributed article: "Protocol Signed"]

[Text] A protocol on commodity turnover between the USSR and the Hungarian Peoples Republic for 1987 and other documents whose aim is to develop trade between the two countries have been signed in Budapest. An increase in the volume of trade in excess of the commitments projected in the long-range trade agreement for 1986-1990 between the USSR and Hungary is envisaged, and also the participation of Hungary in implementing the agreement on the construction of the Yamburg-Western USSR border main gas line, which will make it possible to assure delivery of natural gas on a long-term basis from the USSR to Hungary.

A foundation has been laid for the future development of progressive forms of cooperation. For the first time, plans have been made for the delivery of commodities and rendering of services within the framework of implementation of direct industrial ties between enterprises and organizations of the two countries, and for supporting the activities of joint administrative organizations, as well as the cooperation of a number of Hungarian and USSR enterprises.

Plans call for the rendering of services and the delivery of goods directed at realizing the "Comprehensive Program of Scientific-Technical Progress of CEMA Members to the year 2000." In compliance with commitments made by the contracting parties, reciprocal deliveries will be made in 1987 of metal-working and forge press equipment, electronic, automobile and agricultural equipment, and other products. Reciprocal deliveries of consumer products are being expanded.

13052/12947

CSO: 1825/70

## EASTERN EUROPE

### CZECH-LATVIAN COOPERATION IN AGRICULTURE, AUTOMATION

Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 13 Dec 86 p 3

[Article by A. Timkov under the rubric "CEMA: Degrees of Integration": "On a Mutually Beneficial Basis"]

[Text] Specialists of the agricultural firm of the "Adazhi" Kolkhoz periodically go to Czechoslovakia to the "Slushovitse" agro-industrial combine in Rizhskiy Rayon. Recently, Ya. Beynart, manager of an embryo transplant laboratory, and A. Keysh, a veterinarian, departed for that fraternal country. The purpose of their trip was to master a method of accelerated replenishment of milk cow herds and, on their return home, to employ it in their kolkhoz. Czechoslovak cattle breeders, employing this method, increased the productivity of cows to 6,000 kilograms of milk per year. They pledged to render assistance to the Latvian specialists in the study and introduction of progressive technology.

In turn, the specialists of the "Slushovitse" Combine were interested in the meristem method employed at "Adazhi" to obtain a non-viral seed material for growing potatoes. The Latvian farmers will pass on the minutest details of this intricate procedure and afterwards they will assist in its practical organization in the fields and in the laboratories of the "Slushovitse" Combine. Before this, agronomists of the agricultural combine will come to "Adazhi" to work as apprentices. Preparations are being made to receive them.

The mutually beneficial working relationships between the Latvian agricultural firm and the Czechoslovak combine were initiated with a joint protocol concluded between both organizations for the current 5-year plan. Plans envision an exchange of experience and the achievements in scientific technical progress, and also the establishment of a joint enterprise for producing micro-computers and the development of other types of cooperation.

Cooperation in the production of electronic computer equipment derives from a strong desire of the combine and the firm to place the newest achievements of science at the service of production and to introduce cost accounting, which requires an advanced system of calculation and information processing. Both partners are pinning great hopes on computers in economic planning and management and development of automated production.

The long-range program of cooperation envisages contacts not only in the production sphere, but also in broad cultural exchanges and friendly meetings of representatives of the two fraternal collectives. The mutual opinion is that the collaboration of Soviet and Czechoslovak workers will serve to strengthen international ties and will promote an acceleration in the development of agricultural production and processing sectors.

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## EASTERN EUROPE

### ROMANIA-USSR EXPAND TRADE, ECONOMIC COOPERATION

Moscow EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA in Russian No 2, Jan 87 p 21

[TASS report: "Cooperation Is Expanding"]

[Text] Negotiations were concluded and intergovernmental documents were signed in Moscow on 29 December whose aim is to expand Soviet-Romanian trade and economic cooperation.

The protocol on commodity turnover between the USSR and the Socialist Republic of Romania provides for an increase in the volume of mutually beneficial trade in 1987, including the production of sectors that determine scientific and technical progress. It is envisaged that a specific share of Soviet machine and equipment export to Romania will consist of metalworking and mine pit equipment, textile equipment, road-building machinery, products of the electronic and electrical engineering industry, and ship and marine equipment.

The Soviet Union is continuing delivery to Romania of a number of very important fuel energy and raw material commodities: gas, coal, oil, electrical power, iron ore, cotton, cellulose, apatite and chemical goods.

Romania will deliver oil drilling and oil field equipment, railroad cars, ships of various types, consumer goods, and also a number of chemical and other commodities to the USSR.

Agreements were also signed on Romania's participation in the construction of the Kryvoy Rog ore-dressing combine on the territory of the USSR, which enables guaranteeing the Romanian economy delivery of ferriferous raw material from the USSR on a long-term basis; and on the transit of a Soviet natural gas pipeline through the territory of Romania.

Putting the signed documents into effect will promote the implementation of decisions reached at the summit level Moscow economic conference of CEMA member countries (1984), and also the decisions of the 42d meeting of the CEMA session.

The parties agreed that foreign trade organs will render assistance in the development of specialization and industrial cooperation on the basis of direct ties between Soviet and Romanian enterprises and associations.

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## LATIN AMERICA AND CARIBBEAN

### SIGNING OF NICARAGUA'S NEW CONSTITUTION MARKED

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Jan 87 p 5

[Article by Pavel Bogomolov under rubric "Commentator's Column":  
"Constitution of a Free People"]

[Text] The constitution of the Republic of Nicaragua was signed in festive ceremonies held in Revolution Square in Managua. Daniel Ortega, the country's president, authenticated the basic law with his signature in the presence of 5,000 representatives of political parties, social organizations and labor collectives. Henceforth, the 9th of January will be a national holiday of the republic.

The present constitution marks the eleventh constitution in the history of Nicaragua. But, for the first time, this document guarantees workers the opportunity to participate directly in the establishment of a new society, the right to vote and be elected, and the right to work, lodging, a free education, and health protection. The anti-imperialist and national character of the revolutionary process in Nicaragua has been ratified legislatively, the gains of the agrarian reform have been consolidated, and the broad autonomy of national minorities has been proclaimed. In a word, the basic law of the land is a genuine charter of the liberation of the people of Nicaragua.

The document that went into effect is also visible evidence of the faithfulness of the Sandinista National Liberation Front to its responsibilities to the various strata of the population and the legal opposition, to neighbors in the region, and to the international community as a whole. The constitution, whose draft was debated with the active participation of representatives of seven parties, and also the church, has affirmed such fundamental principles as political pluralism, liberty of conscience, a mixed character of the economy, and nonalignment and noninterference in the internal affairs of other states.

The basic law of revolutionary Nicaragua is also the manifesto of a fighting people. Unquestionably, history will weigh the full extent of the political courage of the defenders of the native land of Sandino, who developed a constitutional process that was unparalleled in scope under the extremely unfavorable conditions of an "undeclared" but bloody war conducted by CIA hirelings on the borders of the republic in a highly explosive situation of imperialist blackmail and threats.

Preparing direct aggression against Managua, the Washington administration, among other subversive actions, was also betting on a breakdown in the current democratic transformation in Nicaragua or, at least, on an artificial isolation of this process from the political life of other countries of Latin America. But these calculations failed. Dozens of foreign delegations, first and foremost from countries of the Contadora group, were side by side with Nicaraguans at the constitution signing ceremonies. Representatives of many Latin American and European states were at the ceremonies in Managua.

Fighting and building the future, the native land of Sandino is following a chosen course of national revival despite many difficulties and sacrifices.

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## CHINA/FAR EAST/PACIFIC

### COMMENTATOR NOTES PROBLEMS OF JAPAN'S 'ECONOMIC MIRACLE'

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Jan 87 p 5

[Article by Igor Latyshev under the rubric "Commentator's Column":  
"Was There a 'Miracle'?"]

[Text] It was not long ago that the foreign press was depicting the development of the Japanese economy as something of a "miracle." In particular, mention was made of the high rates of growth of Japan's gross national product, the relative stability of the demand for labor and the level of unemployment which was substantially lower than that of other developed countries of the capitalist world. This created the impression here and there that Japan was immune to such inherent capitalist ailments as the presence of millions of people who are without work and earnings. But these features turned out to be only the temporary result of a fortunate coincidence of favorable circumstances.

The rate of industrial growth in Japan has dropped in recent years to the levels of American and West European indices. A steady trend appeared toward a decline in the demand for manpower. While in the 1960's and 1970's the portion of unemployed in Japan did not exceed 1.5 percent of the total number of wage laborers, it reached the highest level in the last three decades in 1986: 2.8-2.9 percent. Today, there are 1.5-1.6 million people in the country who have lost their jobs and who have no possibility of getting work.

The main reasons for this are the crisis phenomena in the economy: the stagnation in metallurgy, shipbuilding, and a number of other major sectors. Government measures directed at the denationalization of municipal enterprises, especially the state railroads, have had a ruinous effect on the fates of hundreds of thousands of workers. It is conjectured that more than 60,000 railroad workers will be without jobs by spring of this year. And one must mention something else. It is typical that both the economic problems and unemployment are increasing in Japan as the militaristic trend is being intensified and the country becomes drawn into the global strategy of the United States.

Thus, the specter of unemployment today also hangs over hundreds of thousands of wage laborers, if not millions, in Japan. In their forecasts for the 1987 budget year, many experts are predicting an increase in unemployment up to 3-3.1 percent in the country. Some are assuming that the number of those without work and earnings will double in the course of several years.

In the meantime, it is true that unemployment in Japan lags that in the United States and a number of countries in Western Europe. But the belief in the myth of the Japanese "miracle" is now gone. The working people of Japan who have lost their jobs, or who fear losing them in the near future, are convinced from their own personal sad experience that there are no miracles in the world and that the laws of the development of capitalist economics are universal, irreversible and inimical to the working masses of any country.

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MIDDLE EAST/NORTH AFRICA/SOUTH ASIA

PAKISTAN ALLEGEDLY OBSTRUCTS AFGHAN REFUGEES' RETURN HOME

PM181443 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Feb 87 First Edition p 5

[Own correspondent V. Okulov "Afghan Reportage": "Difficult Road Home"]

[Text] Kabul--The policy of national reconciliation and the practical steps taken by the DRA Government to implement it have awakened in thousands of Afghans who find themselves outside their country hopes of a speedy return to the motherland, to life under conditions of peace and tranquility. Each day sees an increase in the number of families returning from abroad to their home cities and villages.

In Kabul knowledgeable people told me that smugglers are now undertaking to get a refugee family into Afghanistan through Pakistani military cordons and Dushman blocking forces for 20,000 Afghans. Precisely that tariff was in operation several years ago when people deceived by counterrevolution were being taken in the other direction.

The DRA Government has made contact with the governments of two neighboring countries, offering to create conditions for the voluntary return to the motherland of the Afghans in those countries and, in particular, for the transportation of refugees to the DRA in aircraft of the Afghan Bakhtar airline. However, such a development of events, as we see, does not enter into the calculations of the Pakistani and Iranian authorities, which are trying to use the presence of Afghan refugees on their land in their own narrow mercenary political interests.

The Pakistani Government has taken measures overtly hostile to the policy of national reconciliation. It has announced a decision to create in the North-West Frontier Province a united command designed to gather army and police subunits and Afghan counterrevolutionary armed groups into a unified strike force to suppress refugees' attempts to head for the motherland.

The Kabul newspaper HAQIQAT-E ENQELAB-E SAWR has reported that the Pakistani Government has ordered the blockading of 255 refugee camps. A large number of Afghan families which had set out for Afghanistan have been detained in the border region by the Iranian authorities. These actions, the newspaper writes, have aroused a wave of indignation in the camps.

Reports are reaching Kabul that no less than two-thirds of the Afghan emigres in Pakistan and Iran would like to return home immediately. Some 5,000 inmates of the ("Surkhab") camp in Baluchistan, for example, have declared this their urgent desire. The Pakistani authorities have disarmed the (Ismailkheyl) and (Manduzay) clans, preventing their return to the DRA. Surveillance of those who sell property in preparation for traveling to the motherland has been set up in the camps. Attempts are being made to stop the refugees with false propaganda and threats.

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